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THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT:

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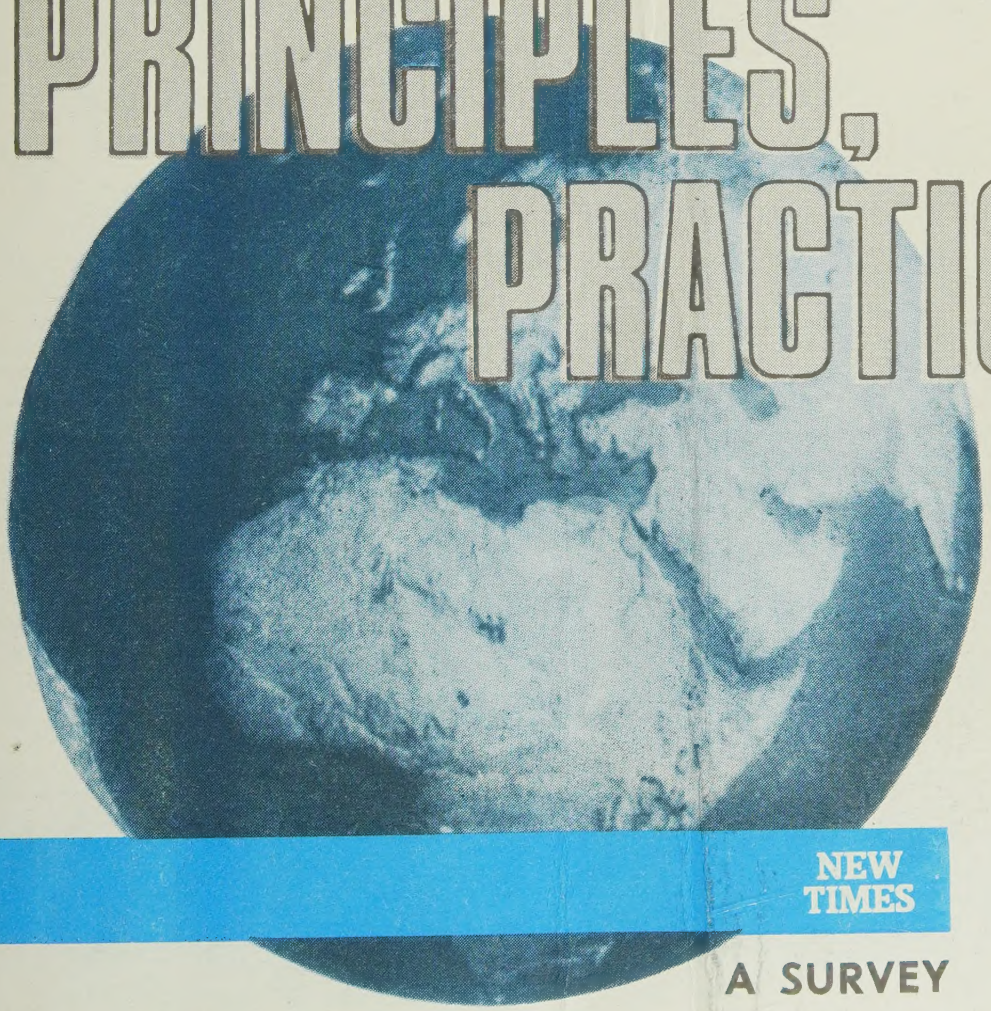

NEW TIMES

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RAIS TUZMUKHAMEDOV

RECORD OF A QUARTER CENTURY

The modern world is inconceivable without such an important factor in international relations as the non-aligned movement. The emergence and growth of the movement was an expression of the desire of newly independent states to assert their political and economic independence and overcome the colonial past in all spheres, and to consolidate their right to full participation in world affairs and the tackling of cardinal universal problems.

The struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism, against apartheid and racism, which includes Zionism, against oppression in any form, the danger of war, all acts of aggression and armed intervention, and the siting of foreign military bases on the territories of other countries has from the outset been the prime objective of the policy of non-alignment. The struggle for the introduction of democratic principles in international relations has become an important goal.

In August-September of this year the Zimbabwean capital Harare will be the venue for the eighth non-aligned summit conference, the supreme body of the non-aligned movement, convened to mark the 25th anniversary of this new kind of interstate association.

25 and 102

The growth of membership is an indication of the progressive growth of any international organization. If the non-aligned movement is seen from this point of view, its successes and force of attraction are evident. Such growth in terms of numbers and rate is unprecedented in the history of international relations, including the history of the United Nations.

During the past quarter-century the number of non-aligned states has increased fourfold. Twenty-five countries were represented at the first, founding, conference in Belgrade, Yugoslavia, in September 1961. Today the non-aligned movement has 102 members. In addition to independent states, it includes two national liberation movements—the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and the South West Africa People's Organization of Namibia (SWAPO). It may also be recalled that quite a few countries and national liberation organizations send their observers to the movement's forums. The geographical scope of the movement has widened, though perhaps not evenly, and the number of member countries on different continents, for the most part in Asia, Africa and Latin America, has risen. The dynamics of geographical representation of the movement is shown in the table below.

The backbone of the movement was made up initially of Asian countries where the people had risen to the struggle for liberation and overthrown the burden of foreign domination and semi-colonial dependence earlier than in other countries.

After the winning of independence by most countries in Tropical Africa and the founding of the Organization of African Unity in 1963 (with its member states committed to non-aligned policy under the organization's charter) the non-aligned movement began to expand quickly as African nations joined it in increasing numbers. These nations, suffering from the grim consequences of colonialism and racism, are relentlessly fighting to eradicate racism from the continent. Today all independent African states are members of the non-aligned movement.

Latin American countries began to join the non-aligned movement much later. For a long time Cuba was the only country in the Western Hemisphere affiliated to the movement. However, in the 1970s both English- and Spanish-speaking countries in Latin America and the Caribbean joined the movement.

Why did almost every new state that appeared as a result of the disintegration of colonial empires (with the exception of the island states in Oceania apart from Vanuatu) choose non-alignment as its foreign policy line? What explains the movement's rapid growth?

Briefly, the non-aligned movement owes its rapid expansion to its aims and principles.

At the Source

These aims and principles were outlined in the mid-1940s by Jawaharlal Nehru, first Prime Minister of independent India. Nehru may be considered the father of the concept of non-alignment, though at first it was known by the somewhat different term of non-commitment.

The chief goal of the non-aligned movement was and remains to ensure the independence of member countries in world affairs. This has been repeatedly stressed in the political declarations adopted at the movement's forums.

In the 1950s and early 1960s imperialism was seeking to draw newly independent nations, particularly those in Asia and Middle East, into its military-political blocs. The policy of neutrality was primarily directed against

Rais Tuzmukhamedov (b. 1926), professor, L L D, leading researcher at the Institute of the State and Law of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences

A FAVOURABLE SIGN OF THE TIMES

I welcome the representatives of those countries that have liberated themselves from colonial oppression and embarked on the path of independent development, the members of the non-aligned movement. Relations of sincere friendship, mutual respect and multiform cooperation have been established between the Soviet Union and these countries. We consider it a favourable sign of the times that the role of the non-aligned countries in the world arena is steadily growing.

From Mikhail Gorbachev's speech at a meeting with ambassadors accredited to the Soviet Union. December 27, 1985.

participation in military blocs and alliances of this kind. The idea of non-alignment, non-participation in such blocs, found expression in the name of the non-aligned movement. True, even in those years the tasks of the movement were defined much more widely and in greater depth. The declaration adopted by the founding conference in Belgrade pointed out that the non-aligned summit had been convened with a view to contributing more effectively to world peace and security and peaceful cooperation among peoples. Today it is especially important to recall that the 25 countries represented at the Belgrade forum set themselves this task a quarter century ago, because they were deeply concerned for the future of mankind and aware that "no people and no government can or should abandon its responsibilities in regard to the safeguarding of world peace."

The methods of action were determined in accordance with this strategic global task. From the outset, that is, from the Belgrade conference, these methods have been directed against imperialism, colonialism, and neocolonialism. As time passed, these objectives were specifically pinpointed. For instance, the eighth non-aligned foreign ministers' meeting in Luanda, Angola, last September stated in point 16 of its declaration: "The policy of non-alignment... consists of the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism, hegemonism, foreign aggression, occupation and domination, as well as against apartheid, racism, including Zionism, and all forms of dependence, intervention, interference and pressure, as well as to the division of the world into blocs and spheres of influence."

The founding fathers of the non-aligned movement—Jawaharlal Nehru of India, Josip Broz Tito of Yugoslavia, Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt, as well as Ahmed Sukarno of Indonesia and Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana—accepted peaceful coexistence as its basic principle. "The participating countries consider," the Belgrade declaration pointed out, "that the principles of peaceful coexistence are the only alternative to the cold war and to a possible general nuclear catastrophe."

The non-aligned movement was conceived from the outset as an international community of peacefully coexisting states with different socio-economic and political systems. It is no wonder that among its original members were two socialist countries—Cuba and Yugoslavia. Later, the non-aligned movement was joined by Vietnam, Laos and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. All socialist-oriented countries are today members of the movement.

The underlying spirit of the movement naturally puts it in the same rank as other anti-imperialist, peaceful forces, in particular those of the socialist world, for it was socialism that declared for peaceful coexistence between states with differing social systems. Furthermore, it should be remembered that were it not for world socialism, which curbs the aggressive designs and expansionism of imperialism, reaction would have been most unlikely to tolerate the formation of a community of non-aligned states which are, as a rule, weak both economically and militarily.

PARTICIPATION IN NON-ALIGNED SUMMIT CONFERENCES

Conferences	Total	Participating states from: Asia	Africa	Latin America	Europe	Oceania
First, Belgrade, 1961	25	11	11	1	2	—
Second, Cairo, 1964	46	15	28	1	2	—
Third, Lusaka, 1970	54	15	33	4	2	—
Fourth, Algiers, 1973	75	25	40	7	3	—
Fifth, Colombo, 1976	85	28	47	7	3	—
Sixth, Havana, 1979	92	28	50	11	3	—
Seventh, Delhi, 1983	99*	28	51	16	3	1

* The following member countries were not represented at the conference: Kampuchea (its seat has been vacant since 1979); St. Lucia (did not send its delegation), and Chile (since the reactionary coup of 1973 the representatives of the junta have been barred from non-aligned forums). Burma withdrew from the movement at the sixth non-aligned summit in 1979.

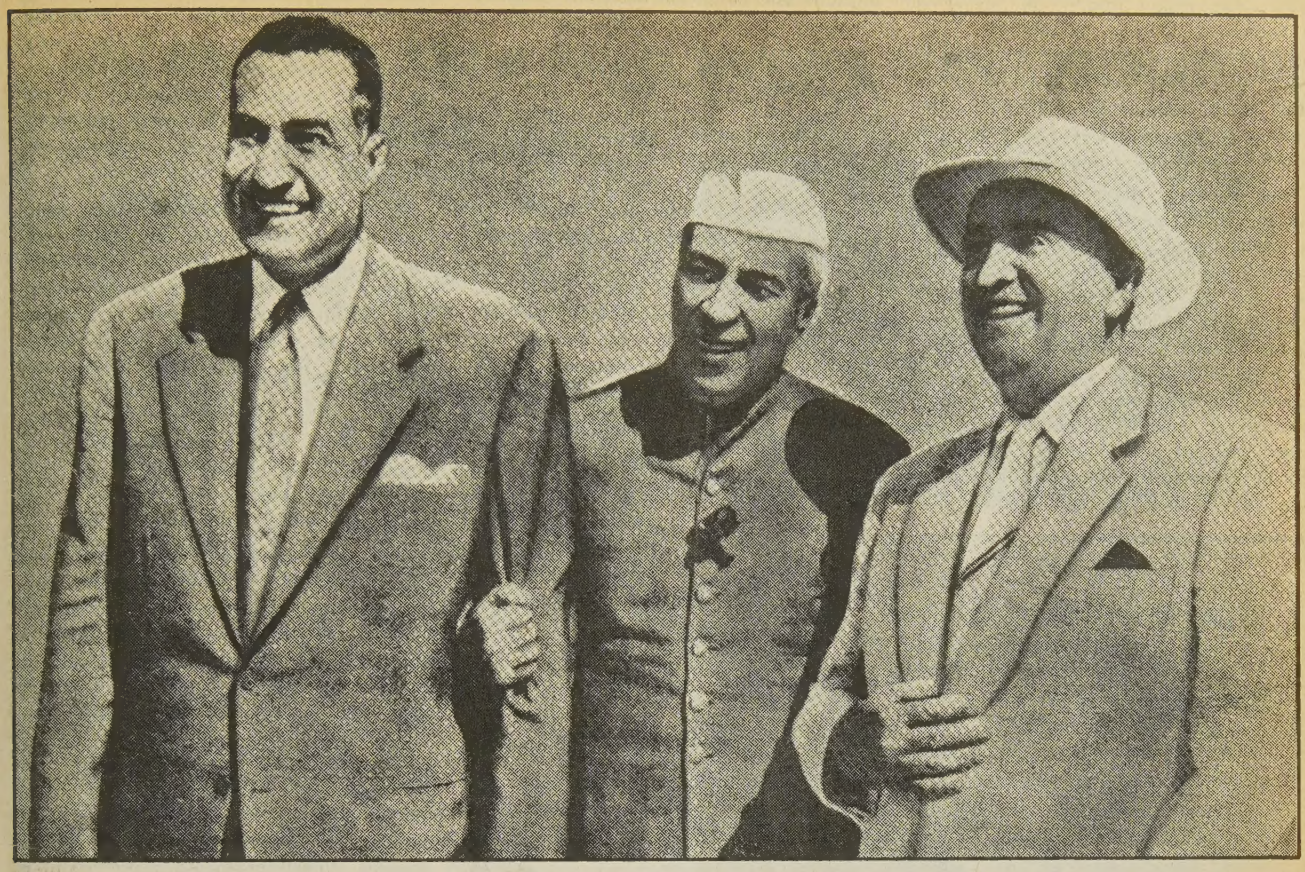
Stages of the Non-Aligned Movement

Fighting for equality and peaceful coexistence, the non-aligned movement has gone through several stages in the quarter-century of its development. These stages were determined both by the processes at work within the movement and the postwar history of international relations.

The very idea of non-alignment, first proclaimed by Jawaharlal Nehru in 1946, was born of the search for ways of protecting the independence India was about to gain and, subsequently, the independence of other countries and peoples of the East. Non-alignment was seen as a political and diplomatic means of national liberation struggles after the achievement of national statehood. This concept was formulated with absolute clarity by Jawaharlal Nehru: non-alignment is "the pursuit of peace, not through alignment with any major power or group of powers but through an independent approach to each controversial or disputed issue, the liberation of subject peoples, the maintenance of freedom, both national and individual, and the elimination of racial discrimination, and the elimination of want, disease and ignorance which afflict the greater part of the world's population."

As imperialist efforts to establish aggressive blocs increased (NATO, SEATO, the Baghdad pact and other blocs may be recalled here), the anti-bloc and hence anti-imperialist aspect of Jawaharlal Nehru's idea acquired greater significance. It won increasing support in the ruling circles of newly independent states, who did not want to become at once the instruments and victims of imperialist policy. The concept of steering clear of military blocs, which had not yet developed into an interstate organization as such, meant, in Nehru's words, taking a stand in support of peace.

As far back as the 1950s the Soviet Union actively backed the position of countries that refused to join blocs. "The forces of peace have been considerably augmented by the emergence in the world arena of a group of peace-loving European and Asian states which have proclaimed non-participation in military blocs as a principle of their foreign policy," the 20th CPSU Congress noted in 1956. Thus, the tendency to steer clear of military blocs was seen by the Soviet Union as an important factor for peace

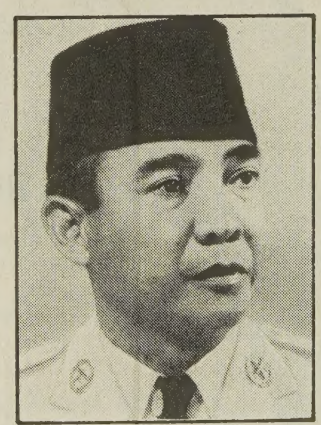


five years before the non-aligned movement assumed the form of an organization.

The struggle against the imperialist policy of military alliances and cold war and for peaceful coexistence was the main content of the non-aligned movement at its **first** stage which lasted till the early 1970s, that is, from the first non-aligned summit in Belgrade to the fourth non-aligned foreign ministers' meeting in Georgetown, Guyana, in 1972.

Since the relaxation of tension, a process the non-aligned movement had favoured since its inception, began in Europe the movement has insistently called for the extension of détente to other regions of the world. At the same time détente enabled the non-aligned nations to raise more energetically the pressing questions of their social and economic development. This resulted in the non-aligned states jointly putting forward a demand for the establishment of a new international economic order based on equality and justice. This demand was first advanced at the fourth non-aligned summit in Algiers in 1973 and, later, at the U.N. special session held in 1974 on the initiative of the non-aligned movement. In this way a new economic—and, in fact, political, anti-imperialist—front of the struggle was opened. Thus began the **second** stage in the development of the non-aligned movement. The ranks of the movement continued to grow as did its objective interaction with the socialist world system.

Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt, Jawaharlal Nehru of India and Josip Broz Tito of Yugoslavia, left to right, are considered the founding fathers of the non-aligned movement. Ahmed Sukarno of Indonesia and Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana are also reckoned among them.



In the late 1970s U.S. imperialism undertook a massive offensive against détente. This, in effect, brought the second stage of the movement to an end. The situation was aggravated by the efforts of transnational corporations to shift the burden of the economic crisis of the 1970s onto the developing nations.

The **third** stage began with the sixth non-aligned summit in Havana, Cuba, in 1979. International reaction, especially the U.S. ruling circles, made every effort to prevent the holding of the sixth summit in Havana and, thus, the election of socialist Cuba as chairman of the non-aligned movement for the next three years. But these efforts proved futile. The fact that in the next few years, so difficult for the developing nations, the non-aligned movement was headed by revolutionaly Cuba greatly helped the movement to withstand the total onslaught of imperialism. And not only did it withstand this onslaught. Handing over his post of coordinator-chairman of the movement to Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi at the Delhi conference in 1983, Fidel Castro had every reason to say: "We can state ... that the unity of our movement has not been weakened, that its vigour has grown, that its independence has

been safeguarded against all schemes to curtail it. It is a movement fully belonging to a community of countries which in the twenty-two years of joint effort have made it an instrument for peace, national liberation and economic development."

The present, third, stage of the non-aligned movement is developing in an international situation sharply deteriorated due to the ultra-aggressive circles of U.S. imperialism which have brought the world to the brink of a nuclear catastrophe. This is why the most active member countries of the non-aligned movement are directing their main efforts towards the banning of nuclear weapons, which hang over humanity like a sword of Damocles, the banning of the testing, manufacture and deployment of these weapons and, in the long run, their total elimination.

Promoting the Cause of Peace

The non-aligned movement has always actively opposed the arms race imposed by imperialism and fought for general and complete disarmament, considering it "an imperative need and the most urgent task facing mankind."

The non-aligned countries believe that disarmament should include not only the elimination of armed forces, armaments and military training institutions but, and this is particularly important for Third World nations, the evacuation of foreign military bases and the total prohibition of the production, possession and use of nuclear, thermonuclear, bacteriological or chemical weapons. As early as at its first conference in Belgrade the non-aligned movement proposed that either a U.N. special session or a world disarmament conference under U.N. auspices be convened to discuss these issues.

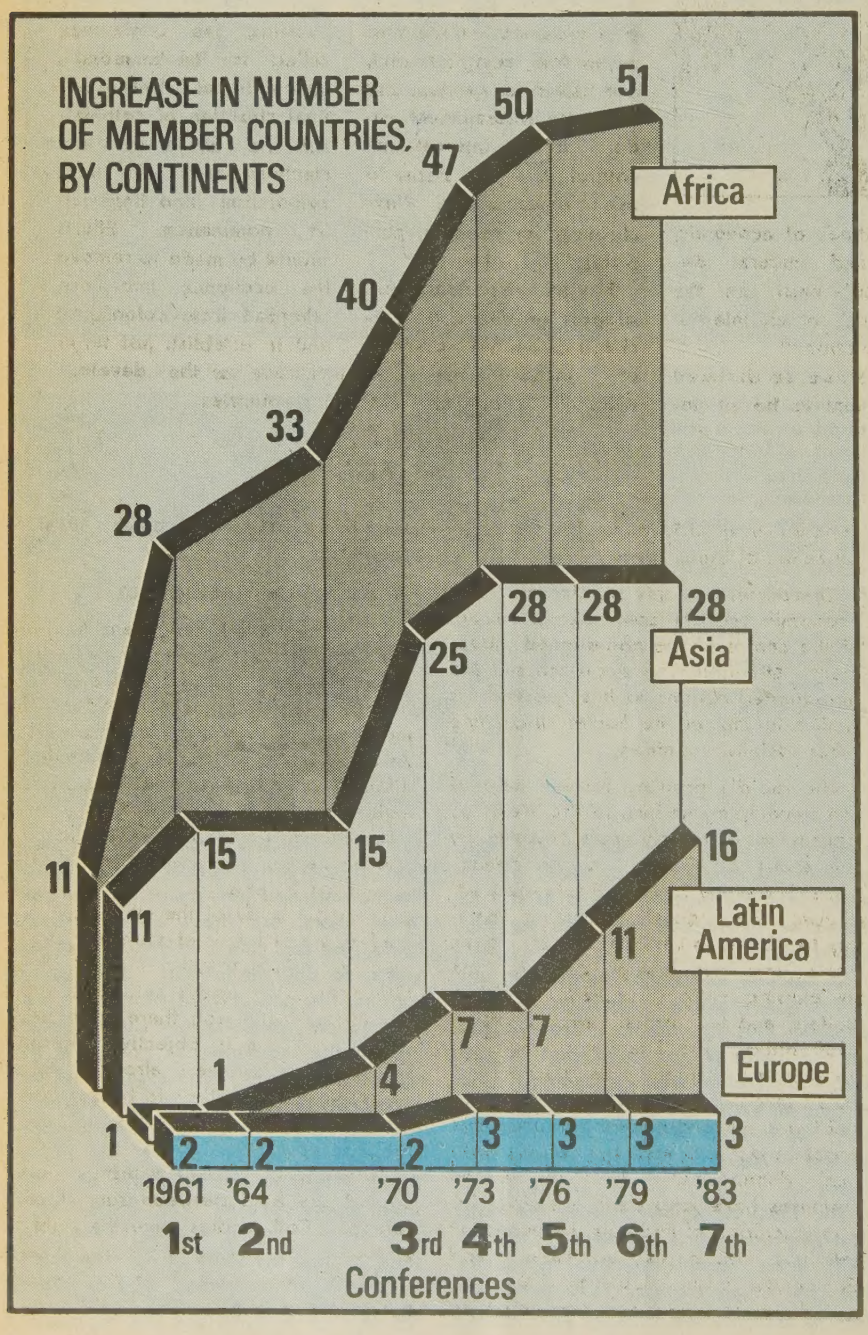
In the late 1950s the first steps were made in the exploration of space. At its first conference in 1961, the non-aligned movement called on all countries exploring outer space "to undertake to use it exclusively for peaceful purposes." The conference expressed the hope that the international community would "establish an international agency with a view to promote and coordinate the human actions in the field of international cooperation in the peaceful uses of outer space."

It should be noted that similar proposals on all these questions had already been advanced by the Soviet Union. It is extremely important, however, that despite its motley socio-political composition (from socialist republics to absolute monarchies) the non-aligned movement has from its inception been actively engaged in the anti-imperialist struggle for peace and has adopted a determined and unambiguous stand on the most important aspects of the cardinal problem of contemporary international relations—the problem of war and peace.

This is reflected in practice at the United Nations where in the majority of cases they act jointly with the socialist states on the most pressing issues of international politics, from the effort to rid mankind of the threat of nuclear disaster and the debilitating arms race to protecting the sovereignty of peoples from imperialist and militarist encroachment. No wonder that the United States, acting in the spirit of neoglobalism, more and more often finds itself in complete or virtual isolation during the vote at sessions of the General Assembly or in U.N. agencies. In the Security Council it sometimes vetoes proposals approved by all other member states.

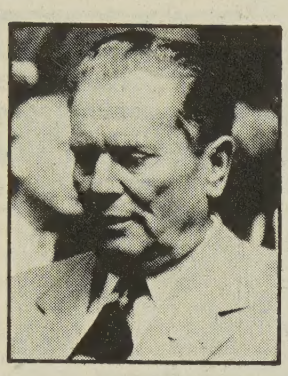
For Space Without Arms

The peace forces are actively trying not only to end the nuclear arms race on earth but also to prevent it from spilling over into outer space. Yet Reagan's "star wars" programme, officially called the Strategic Defence Initiative, is in effect aimed at projecting the arms race into outer space. This dangerous "initiative" was put forward in March 1983. At the 39th General Assembly next year the leaders of the non-aligned countries' delega-



FIRST CONFERENCE OF HEADS OF STATE OR GOVERNMENT OF NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES

Belgrade, Yugoslavia
September 1-6, 1961
Chairman—President Josip Broz Tito of Yugoslavia
25 participating countries
3 countries as observers



The declaration adopted by the conference says that a lasting peace can be achieved only if "the domination of colonialism, imperialism and neocolonialism in all their manifestations is radically eliminated." "The principles of peaceful coexistence," the document points out, "are the only alternative to the cold war and to a possible general nuclear catastrophe. Therefore, these principles—which include the right of peoples to self-determination, to independence and to the free determination of the forms and methods of economic, social and cultural development—must be the only basis of all international relations."

The conference declared disarmament to be an imperative need and the most urgent task facing mankind, and called for general and complete disarmament under strict international control. It urged states to use outer space "exclusively for peaceful purposes."

Having expressed full support for the U.N. declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, the conference called for the immediate, unconditional, total and final abolition of colonialism and all forms and manifestations of neo-colonialism and imperialist domination. Efforts should be made to remove the economic imbalance inherited from colonialism and to establish just terms of trade for the developing countries.

tions held a meeting to express the opposition of the non-aligned movement to the militarization of space. This widely representative meeting declared unequivocally that security through the establishment of strategic defence is as illusory as reliance on nuclear deterrence.

As Washington is ignoring the protests of the democratic world community, the socialist and non-aligned countries, and is going ahead with SDI and drawing its NATO allies into the project, the non-aligned foreign ministers thought it necessary to devote special attention to this question at their meeting in Luanda last September. The political declaration adopted by the Luanda meeting reaffirmed "the principle that outer space—the common heritage of mankind—should be preserved exclusively for peaceful purposes, for the welfare and interest of all countries, irrespective of their level of economic, social or scientific development." The foreign ministers demanded that urgent measures should be taken "to prevent the extension of the arms race to outer space."

Statesmen in many non-aligned countries have repeatedly voiced their deep concern over U.S. plans for the militarization of outer space.

Of course, not only political but also economic security continues to remain at the centre of the non-aligned movement's attention. The approach of the non-aligned nations to this question is similar to that of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

The rapidly growing foreign debt of the developing nations to the West has become an extremely acute problem. By the sixth non-aligned summit conference in Havana in 1979 it totalled $300 billion, the annual payment coming to about $40 billion. Today, seven years later, the foreign debt of the developing nations exceeds a trillion dollars, and the annual payment on it $100 billion. The Luanda meeting of non-aligned foreign ministers rightly noted that "the heavy burden of foreign debt was no longer merely an economic problem but had assumed serious political dimensions." The non-aligned countries have long been pressing for a restructuring of international economic relations on a just, equitable and democratic basis. However, their efforts have actually been obstructed by the United States and other Western countries.

A Flexible Mechanism

The non-aligned movement has no budget, international staff or permanent secretariat-type bodies. However, a flexible regulating mechanism for the movement has, with time, been evolved. As experience shows, it is sufficiently effective to enable a prompt reaction to major events in the rapidly changing international political situation and to coordinate the positions of over 100 non-aligned states.

The main body of the movement is a conference of heads of state or government of non-aligned countries. Such conferences are usually held once every three years, although there have been exceptions due to objective reasons. Seven summits have already taken place, and the eighth is to be convened this coming August in Harare, the capital of Zimbabwe.

Meetings of foreign ministers (eight so far) are held between summit conferences. Both bodies have the right to admit new members to the movement.

Three more bodies of the non-aligned movement have appeared in the course

of time. Mention should first be made of the Coordinating Bureau which now comprises 74 members. It holds regular and, when necessary, special meetings. The bureau coordinates the social and economic activities of the member countries in 23 areas. It also discusses urgent international political issues relating to the movement and speaks on its behalf. The bureau is assisted in its activity by two other bodies in New York: a plenary meeting of the heads of the non-aligned countries' delegations to sessions of the U.N. General Assembly and a plenary meeting of the ambassadors of these countries at the United Nations.

Considerable Reserves

In the year in which it celebrates its quarter-century the non-aligned movement has emerged as a growing international factor for peace and security.

It would be wrong to forget, however, that the movement still has considerable reserves to further enhance its role in the world arena. Let us take such an important problem as the consolidation of the movement's ranks, the strengthening of its unity. This problem is discussed at practically every forum, and understandably so. But unfortunately, disputes, conflicts and even armed clashes occur between members of the movement. Suffice it to recall the war between Iran and Iraq which is now in its sixth year. Of course, efforts are being made to end the conflict. The belligerents have been urged many times to display wisdom and settle their differences by peaceful political means. Within the framework of the non-aligned movement, commissions have been set up and delegations sent to mediate but so far without results.

Or take another artificially aggravated political issue which to the delight of its opponents causes discord in the non-aligned movement—the situation around Afghanistan. Non-aligned countries may of course have different views of the April 1978 revolution in Afghanistan. However, the refusal of Pakistan and Iran to coexist peacefully with Afghanistan and find a political solution to common problems does not in any way conform to the principles of non-alignment or the criteria for membership of the movement. The Afghan leaders rightly believe that the non-aligned movement could influence Pakistan to start direct talks with Afghanistan in Geneva and persuade the other member countries involved in the undeclared war against Afghanistan to withdraw from it.

Examples from the economic sphere can also be cited in the context of the non-aligned movement's reserves of effectiveness. For instance, it was decided long ago to set up a solidarity fund for the economic and social development of non-aligned countries. But this fund has not yet been established.

ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT

Conference of Heads of State or Government
Meeting of Foreign Ministers
Plenary Meeting of the Heads of Delegations to U.N. General Assembly Sessions
Coordinating Bureau
Plenary Meeting of U.N. Ambassadors

GUARANTEE OF A BETTER FUTURE

The newly free peoples, as Lenin foresaw, are to play a great role in the destinies of mankind as a whole. **The CPSU believes that these peoples' increasing influence should promote to an ever greater extent the cause of peace and social progress.**

The Party is consistently pursuing a policy of expanding contacts between the Soviet Union and the newly free countries, and regards with profound sympathy the aspirations of the peoples who had experienced the heavy and humiliating yoke of colonial slavery. The Soviet Union is building its relations with those countries on the basis of strict respect for their independence and equality, and supports their struggle against the neocolonialist policy of imperialism, against the survivals of colonialism, and for peace and universal security.

However different the newly free countries may be from one another and whatever road they follow, their peoples share a common desire to develop independently, and to run their affairs without foreign interference. The Soviet Union is in full solidarity with them. The CPSU does not doubt that it is the sacred right of the newly free countries to decide their own destinies and choose their own type of social system.

The Soviet Union is on the side of the states and peoples repulsing attacks of the aggressive forces of imperialism and upholding their freedom, independence and national dignity. Solidarity with them in our time is also an important aspect of the general struggle for peace and international security.

The CPSU regards with understanding the goals and activities of the non-aligned movement and stands for an enhancement of its role in world politics. The U.S.S.R. will continue to be on the side of the non-aligned states in their struggle against the forces of aggression and hegemonism, and for settling disputes and conflicts that arise through negotiations, and will be opposed to the involvement of those states in military and political groupings.

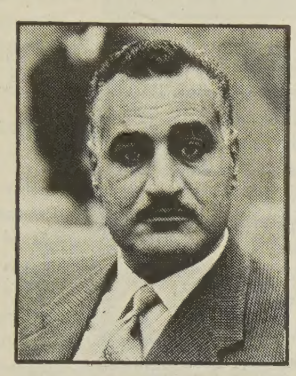
The CPSU stands for the equal participation of newly free countries in international affairs and for an increase of their contribution to the solution of the most important problems of our time. The interaction of those countries with socialist states is vastly important for strengthening the independence of the peoples, improving international relations and preserving peace.

The alliance of the forces of social progress and national liberation is a guarantee of a better future for mankind.

From the Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (new edition) adopted by the 27th CPSU Congress, March 1986

SECOND CONFERENCE OF HEADS OF STATE OR GOVERNMENT OF NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES

Cairo, Egypt
October 5-10, 1964
Chairman—President
Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt
46 participating countries
10 countries as observers



The programme for peace and international cooperation adopted by the conference points out that "imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism constitute a basic source of international tension and conflict because they endanger world peace and security." The conference condemned "all colonialist, neocolonialist and imperialist policies applied in various parts of the world."

The participating states declared for the adoption of immediate measures for practical disarmament that would free mankind from the danger of war and the sense of insecurity, and stressed that disputes between countries must be settled by peaceful means on the basis of sovereign equality and justice.

The conference called for the conclusion of a treaty banning underground nuclear tests and, pending the elaboration of such a treaty, for the discontinuation of such tests. It recommended the establishment of nuclear-free zones in various parts of the world, including the World Ocean, and expressed the conviction that it was necessary to conclude an international treaty banning the use of outer space for military purposes and to expand international cooperation in the peaceful uses of outer space.

The conference urged all states to boycott South African goods and refrain from exporting goods, especially arms, ammunition, oil and raw materials, to South Africa, and also advocated breaking off diplomatic, consular and other relations with Pretoria.

The non-aligned movement evidently has considerable potential for increased effectiveness of its actions, and its activity as a whole.

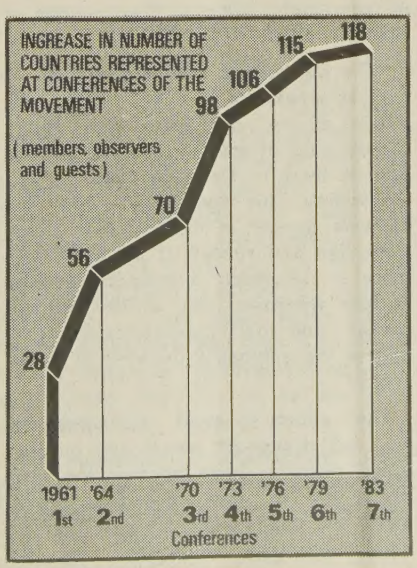
For all that, the non-aligned movement is a major progressive factor in world affairs.

In spite of considerable difficulties in its internal development and the increasing pressure and subversion of imperialism, the movement remains in the main current of international relations and world politics. "Everything that affects peace, everything that abridges the freedom of nations, everything that aggravates international economic disparities is of concern to the non-aligned movement," said Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, the current chairman-coordinator of the movement.

Since the next non-aligned summit will be held in Harare, the functions of chairman of the movement for the coming period will be taken over by Zimbabwe.

Last December Zimbabwean Prime Minister Robert Mugabe paid an official visit to the Soviet Union. In the joint communiqué issued after the visit the parties "stated with satisfaction the growing role of the non-aligned movement as a major factor in international relations."

The new edition of the CPSU Programme points out that the Soviet Union will continue to be on the side of the non-aligned states in their struggle against the forces of aggression and hegemonism, for the settlement of disputes and conflicts through negotiation.



The countries of the socialist community have more than once favourably assessed the increasing role of the non-aligned movement, unfailingly stressing its respect for the full independence of the movement and its underlying principles. The statement adopted by the Warsaw Treaty states at their meeting in Sofia at the end of 1985 points out that they "are prepared to continue actively to cooperate with non-aligned nations in the struggle against the threat of war, neocolonialism and racism, for disarmament and peace, a relaxation of tension, and national independence, and in the solution of international economic problems."

In this cooperation between the socialist and non-aligned countries lies the earnest of a peaceful future and progress in the world. ■

ARTEMY SERGIYEV

PEACE THE SUPREME GOAL

From the outset the leaders of the newly independent countries of Asia and Africa that have united in the non-aligned movement set out to work for a lasting peace and disarmament, and for a peaceful settlement of conflicts and other international problems. Addressing the first non-aligned summit conference in Belgrade in 1961, Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru said, inter alia, that if war was not averted, all the other problems of the non-aligned countries would remain unresolved. Yet if it was averted, he continued, we could tackle other problems, help the liberation of areas still under colonial or imperialist oppression and, most importantly, build a free society in our own countries.

The leaders of the other founding states of the non-aligned movement shared his views. That is why the declaration of the Belgrade conference read, inter alia: "War has never threatened mankind with graver consequences than today. On the other hand, never before has mankind had at its disposal stronger forces for eliminating war as an instrument of policy in international relations.... War between peoples constitutes not only an anachronism but also a crime against humanity." The conference flatly rejected the view that another world war was inevitable as "contrary to the progress of the world" and stressed that "the international community is able to organize its life without resorting to means which actually belong to a past epoch of human history." The declaration also noted that the principles of peaceful coexistence were "the only alternative to the cold war and to a possible general nuclear catastrophe."

These statements, in fact, formulated the non-aligned movement's platform in the struggle for peace and international security, against another world war and for disarmament. They were further expounded in documents produced by subsequent forums of the movement, in speeches by non-aligned leaders and in documents drafted by non-aligned countries and subsequently approved by the U.N. General Assembly.

Here is one example to show that the non-aligned movement attaches priority to safeguarding and strengthening peace. The Lusaka declaration, approved by the third non-aligned summit held in the capital of Zambia, contained a list of the major goals of the movement in which those related to the maintenance of peace predominated. They include the striving for world peace and peaceful coexistence, the settlement of disputes by peaceful means, the ending of the arms race with eventual general disarmament, and opposition to the establishment of foreign military bases and the continued presence of foreign troops in the territories of other countries.

If we do not have peace today, we shall have no life tomorrow, Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, the then chairman-coordinator of the non-aligned movement, said in the autumn of 1983.

"The destructive power contained in nuclear stockpiles can kill human life, indeed all life, many times over," Indira Gandhi said at the seventh non-aligned summit held in Delhi in 1983. In this connection she specially noted the extreme danger of the fact that "some statesmen and strategists act as though there is not much difference between nuclear weapons and earlier artillery pieces" and that "powerful states propagate the untenable doctrine of deterrence."

The efforts to avert nuclear-missile war and strengthen peace and international security have become the main policy line of the non-aligned movement, and this is made clear in the New Delhi message approved by the seventh non-aligned summit. The thrust of the message is its appeal to the great powers immediately to halt "the drift towards nuclear conflict" and "to adopt urgent and practical measures for the prevention of nuclear war."

It is axiomatic that everyone needs peace. It should be noted at the same time that the efforts of the independent, non-aligned countries to have the dangerous arms race stopped and to promote disarmament are also motivated by their desire to strengthen national independence and accelerate their growth rates so as to overcome their economic backwardness and mass poverty as soon as possible.

Guns Before Bread

The arms buildup in today's world is consuming immense resources. A mere half of the world's annual military spending, a prestigious international commission chaired by Socialist International president Willy Brandt estimated, would be enough for a ten-year programme to provide food and health care to the entire population of the developing world, that is, actually to wipe out hunger altogether. The cost of one U.S. XM tank could buy bread for 50,000 people for a year and the cost of the U.S. B-1 bomber, for more than three million. What then could money spent on aircraft carriers or nuclear missiles do?

The fourth non-aligned summit conference held in Algiers in 1973 stressed that the resources which could be released through disarmament should become a major source of funds for the development of the Third World. It was therefore natural that the non-aligned countries actively supported the Soviet-sponsored resolution at the U.N. General Assembly in the same year on reduction of military budgets of states permanent members of the Security Council by 10 per cent and on the use of part of the funds thus saved to provide assistance to developing countries. The Western powers, however, flagrantly sabotaged and continue to disregard that resolution. In the period since it was passed their military spending, far from lessening, has increased. U.S. military spending has soared especially dramatically under the Reagan Administration, which blatantly set out to destroy military parity with the U.S.S.R. and achieve nuclear-missile superiority.

"International peace and security can only be ensured through general and complete disarmament, in particular nuclear disarmament, under effective international control," the heads of state or government of non-aligned countries said in the political declaration adopted

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THIRD CONFERENCE OF HEADS OF STATE OR GOVERNMENT OF NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES

Lusaka, Zambia
September 8-10, 1970
Chairman—President
Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia
54 participating countries
9 countries as observers
7 countries as guests

The declaration on peace, independence, development, cooperation and democratization of international relations, adopted by the Lusaka conference, points out that the non-aligned movement attaches special importance to such principles as the right of all states to respect for their sovereignty and territorial integrity and to equality and active participation in international affairs, as well as the right of all sovereign nations to determine in full freedom the paths of their political, economic, social and cultural development. A declaration on non-alignment and economic progress was also adopted. It called for the promotion of mutual cooperation between developing countries so as to impart strength to their national endeavours to consolidate their independence. The areas of such cooperation were specified.

Among other documents approved by the conference are resolutions on disarmament (stressing that "space should be used exclusively for peaceful purposes"), on decolonization, apartheid and racial discrimination, on Namibia (pledging "solidarity with the people of Namibia who are fighting for freedom"), on the Middle East (calling for the withdrawal of Israeli troops from all Arab territories occupied since June 1967 and for the full restoration of the rights of the Arab people of Palestine in their usurped homeland), and on the strengthening of the role of the non-aligned countries.

The conference proposed that the Indian Ocean should be declared a zone of peace.

in the Indian capital three years ago. This key idea, though variously expressed, pervades all the documents of the non-aligned movement since its first forum in Belgrade.

The first and second U.N. special sessions on disarmament were convened in 1978 and 1982 on the initiative of the non-aligned countries, backed by the countries of the socialist community. They put this major problem of worldwide importance into the focus of international political dialogue; at the same time they clearly demonstrated the desire of most of the U.N. member countries to bring about a turn for the better in mankind's long struggle for real arms cuts, particularly in nuclear weapons.

Acid Test

The documents of the non-aligned movement and the leaders of non-aligned countries consistently demand that nuclear arsenals be frozen and substantial cuts in them initiated, and that the first step to this goal should be the ending of all nuclear tests and hence of their qualitative improvement.

It should be noted that in recent years non-aligned countries have not only voted at U.N. General Assembly sessions for Soviet-sponsored resolutions on a quantitative and qualitative nuclear arms freeze. They have begun to put forward their own initiatives and table similar resolutions. Moreover, those resolutions represent, as it were, an official reply of the non-aligned movement to various arguments produced by the U.S. and its allies on that vital problem, namely, that the United States must supposedly first "catch up" with the U.S.S.R. in some types of nuclear weapons ("the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. today have equal military nuclear potentials ... and there exists rough overall parity between them") or that a nuclear freeze is not verifiable and can even hinder the talks on nuclear arms reduction.

The momentum of disarmament initiatives on the part of the non-aligned movement continues to grow. In May 1984 the leaders of three non-aligned countries, Argentina, India and Tanzania, together with the leaders of three more peace-loving states, Greece, Mexico and Sweden, appealed to all the nuclear powers to freeze their nuclear armaments as a first step. The Soviet Union responded to that initiative by putting forward a complex of practical measures, whereas the Western powers brushed it aside, confining themselves once again to empty rhetoric.

The leaders of the six countries, meanwhile, energetically carried on in 1985-86 a campaign for a ban on all nuclear explosions, including underground explosions, even offering the services of their countries to verify such a ban. As early as 1982 the Ghanaian delegate to the United Nations characterized readiness to put an end to nuclear testing as the acid test of the sincerity of the nuclear powers with regard to arms reductions. It is this sincerity, highly valued by the non-aligned countries, that was demonstrated by the Soviet Union when it unilaterally halted nuclear testing on August 6, 1985—Hiroshima Day—and extended its moratorium three times, now until

FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES FOR BUILDING AN ALL-EMBRACING SYSTEM OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

1. IN THE MILITARY SPHERE

— renunciation by the nuclear powers of war—both nuclear and conventional—against each other or against third countries;

— prevention of an arms race in outer space, cessation of all nuclear weapons tests and the total destruction of such weapons, a ban on, and the destruction of, chemical weapons, and renunciation of the development of other means of mass annihilation;

— a strictly controlled lowering of the levels of military capabilities of countries to limits of reasonable adequacy;

— disbandment of military alliances, and as a stage towards this—renunciation of their enlargement and of the formation of new ones;

— balanced and commensurate reduction of military budgets.

2. IN THE POLITICAL SPHERE

— unconditional respect in international practice for the right of each people to choose the ways and forms of its development independently;

— a just political settlement of international crises and regional conflicts;

— elaboration of a set of measures aimed at building confidence between states and the creation of effective guarantees against attack from without and of the inviolability of their frontiers;

— elaboration of effective methods of preventing international terrorism, including the safety of international land, air, and sea communications.

3. IN THE ECONOMIC SPHERE

— exclusion of all forms of discrimination from international practice; renunciation of the policy of economic blockades and sanctions if this is not directly envisaged in the recommendations of the world community;

— joint quest for ways for a just settlement of the problem of debts;

— establishment of a new world economic order guaranteeing equal economic security to all countries;

— elaboration of principles for utilizing part of the funds released as a result of a reduction of military budgets for the good of the world community, of developing nations in the first place;

— the pooling of efforts in exploring and making peaceful use of outer space and in resolving global problems on which the destinies of civilization depend.

4. IN THE HUMANITARIAN SPHERE

— cooperation in the dissemination of the ideas of peace, disarmament, and international security; greater flow of general objective information and intercourse between peoples for the purpose of learning about one another; reinforcement of the spirit of mutual understanding and concord in the relations between them;

— extirpation of genocide, apartheid, advocacy of fascism and every other form of racial, national or religious exclusiveness, and also of discrimination against people on this basis;

— extension—while respecting the laws of each country—of international cooperation in the implementation of the political, social, and personal rights of people;

— decision in a humane and positive spirit of questions related to the reuniting of families, marriage, and the promotion of contacts between people and between organizations;

— strengthening of and quest for new forms of cooperation in culture, art, science, education, and medicine.

From the political report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress. February 25, 1986

August 6, 1986. The U.S. Administration, meanwhile, cynically disregarded all appeals to reason and calls from peace-loving forces, including the New Delhi Six and the Soviet Union. It refused to follow the Soviet example and, at the Nevada site, carried on testing its nuclear devices, including those under the "star wars" programme. (Ronald Reagan also declined Mikhail Gorbachev's proposal to meet in a European capital or in Hiroshima to reach accord on a nuclear test ban.)

"Star Wars" Must Be Prevented

The non-aligned movement is consistently opposed to the militarization of outer space and wants it to be used exclusively for peaceful purposes. The political declarations of all non-aligned forums beginning with that in Belgrade (1961) contain demands to this effect. This position has lost none of its urgency since the Reagan Administration seems determined to deploy space strike systems.

A group of non-aligned countries, among them Algeria, India, Sri Lanka, Ethiopia, Yugoslavia and Egypt, tabled at the 40th U.N. General Assembly in late 1985 a draft resolution on the prevention of an arms race in outer space. Altogether, 151 countries voted for it, none voted against and only the United States and Grenada, now Washington's obedient stooge, abstained. The resolution urges all states to prevent an arms race in outer space because it would create a grave threat to peace and an obstacle to international cooperation in the peaceful exploration of space.

The natural community of the interests of non-aligned and socialist countries in ensuring a lasting peace and checking the arms race angers the champions of militarism and the "position of strength" policy. The current permanent representative of the U.S. at the United Nations, Vernon A.Walters, gave vent to his emotions in a CBS interview in October 1985, claiming that "the so-called non-aligned movement is not non-aligned" because its members vote with the Soviet Union in the United Nations on 86 per cent of the issues put to the vote. Do Vernon Walters and his like then believe that support for the brazenly militaristic course of the

U.S. should be proof of a truly non-aligned policy?

It is the U.S. and other NATO countries, sometimes taking cover behind the peace rhetoric, that are blocking in every way practical measures in such a vital field as the removal or at least lessening of the nuclear threat. Determined to achieve strategic superiority, they either decline or bog down in endless pretexts the peace initiatives and businesslike proposals advanced by the Soviet Union and other peace-loving forces, among them the non-aligned movement and individual non-aligned countries.

Yet the practical importance of the consistent and persevering efforts of the non-aligned movement for an improvement in the international climate, the efforts reflecting the staunch commitment of the non-aligned countries to the idea of security through disarmament, must not be underestimated. This idea is opposed to the open attempts of Washington to impose on mankind its concept of "peace through strength."

Neoglobalism Repulsed

Today this philosophy (and, more importantly, actions "from positions of strength," especially in regard to Third World countries objectionable to Washington) has become downright arrogant in the policy of the Reagan Administration. It has even been given a pseudo-theoretical basis in the concept of neoglobalism.

The U.S. piratical raid on Libya and its civilian population, the White House's hysterical attacks on Sandinist Nicaragua, extensive support for the anti-Nicaraguan contras, former Somocist guards, and supplies of weapons, including advanced Stinger anti-aircraft missiles, to bandit terrorist groupings in Angola and Afghanistan, all amount to a broad assault on non-aligned countries, whatever the pretext in each particular case.

The non-aligned movement has always resolutely taken the side of the victims of acts of imperialist aggression and condemned aggressors and invaders. This position is well illustrated by the movement's condemnation of U.S. intervention in Indo-China and the Israeli aggressors and their American backers and by its support for the inalienable rights of the Arab people of Palestine.

Late last March the Coordinating Bureau of the non-aligned countries, meeting at the U.N. headquarters in New York, strongly condemned the U.S. acts of subversion against Nicaragua and the open use of U.S. armed force against Libya. The Bureau stressed that those actions had aggravated the situation in Central America, provoked a dangerous escalation of tension in the Mediterranean and posed a grave threat to world peace and security.

In April, however, new acts of aggression against Libya followed as U.S. planes bombed Libyan cities. Those piratical attacks evoked "a feeling of deep shock and outrage," as the non-aligned foreign ministers noted at an extraordinary meeting of the Coordinating Bureau in New Delhi in the middle of April. They strongly denounced the arrogant, flagrant and totally unprovoked act of aggression against a member country of the non-aligned movement, which amounted to a breach of international law and the principles of the U.N. Charter and jeopardized international peace and security. They demanded that the U.S. immediately stop armed attacks against Libya and fully compensate for the loss of life and damage to property. A delegation of six ministers from member countries visited Tripoli to convey to the Libyan leadership their message of solidarity and later described, at a U.N. Security Council meeting in New York, the horrendous consequences of the barbarous American raids, which they had seen with their own eyes.

These are just a few of the latest examples of the anti-imperialist thrust of the movement, which nurtures the efforts and endeavours of the member countries in seeking a just settlement of regional conflicts that would not infringe on the interests of the newly free countries and peoples or their right freely to choose a path of development without imperialist intervention and diktat.

Zones of Peace Needed

The initiatives of non-aligned countries on the establishment of regional zones of peace and cooperation and nuclear-free zones are aimed at preventing imperialist intervention and the threat of war in different parts of the world, at lessening tensions and achieving security there. The non-aligned countries have long tabled proposals on nuclear-free zones in Africa and the Middle East and zones of peace and stability in Southeast Asia (Algiers conference), the Indian Ocean (Lusaka conference) and the Mediterranean (Havana conference).

The U.S.S.R. is known to support these proposals, such as the idea of making the Indian Ocean a zone of peace, complete with the demilitarization of the region, the dismantling of foreign military bases there (the largest of them being the U.S. base on Diego Garcia) and the non-deployment of nuclear or other weapons of mass destruction in the area. The U.S.S.R. is working for the convocation of an international conference on this problem. Yet the United States and its allies, determined further to escalate their military presence in the Indian Ocean, openly blocked the convocation of a conference on the Indian Ocean, due to take place in Colombo in 1981 by decision of the U.N. General Assembly.

The positions of the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. on establishing a zone of peace and cooperation in the Mediterranean are similarly conflicting. The Soviet Union has long proposed that concerted confidence-building measures be spread to the region, the armed forces be reduced there, nuclear-armed warships be withdrawn from it and no nuclear weapons be deployed in the non-nuclear Mediterranean countries. This is exactly what the non-aligned movement is striving to achieve. Late last March Mikhail Gorbachev stated that the Soviet Union was prepared to take another step and withdraw its navy from the Mediterranean if, naturally, the United States did likewise. Washington, however, is turning a deaf ear to all such proposals: its only aim is to whip up tension to the point of using armed strength in punitive operations against such countries as Libya.

The non-aligned countries, sincerely seeking peace and security, thus have the opportunity to compare the consistent peace initiatives of the Soviet Union with the chronically negative and obstructionist actions taken by the U.S.A. and its NATO allies in response. This comparison enables the non-aligned countries to realize that the line of confrontation in today's world passes between the recklessness of militarism and nuclear adventurism, on the one side, and common sense and human reason invoked to save mankind from sliding into the nuclear abyss, on the other. ■

IVAN IVANOV

FOR ECONOMIC DECOLONIZATION

The emergent states' collective struggle for economic decolonization and an end to inequality and exploitation in the world capitalist system is a key area in which their influence and international prestige are growing. Their platform in this struggle is a programme for the establishment of a new international economic order. Both the principles of that platform and concrete measures to achieve its goals are discussed by members of the non-aligned movement on a regular basis. The working body for such discussions is the Group of 77, which operates at the United Nations and which has a broader membership than the non-aligned movement itself. (The Group at present includes 127 countries.)

The Group of 77 acts for the most part as a party in concrete negotiations, whereas it is the non-aligned movement that formulates socio-economic guidelines for the collective position of the developing countries.

The achievement of political independence and the formation of nation states, though important in themselves, do not at the moment provide a solution to the problem of overcoming deep-seated backwardness, inherited from the colonial past. Using the unequal situation of the emergent states in the world capitalist economy, imperialism is exploiting them by neo-colonialist methods, in particular through transnational corporations and transnational banks. Moreover, the former parent states take out of those countries every year even greater profits than they did in the colonial age. That is why the emergent states, having completed the process of political decolonization, are now trying to achieve economic decolonization. Unless this goal is achieved, the emergent nations will be unable to make good use of the fruit of independence.

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New International Economic Order—What It Means

Economic decolonization is a large-scale and complex process, which has certain specific features for each individual country as well as broader international aspects. Yet it is the international aspects of the process of decolonization that are especially important in view of the immense dependence of the emergent states on foreign trade and their lop-sided economic development patterns inherited from the colonial period. Indeed, these countries export almost a quarter of their gross national product; 65 countries earn 60 per cent of their export revenue from exporting raw materials, 48 countries as much as 89 per cent and 20 countries even more than 90 per cent. Some progress made by individual emergent states in boosting their manufactured exports does little to change the overall picture. It is a factor of major importance to all the developing countries without exception that their foreign economic relations are the main channel through which imperialism continues to exploit them.

The thrust of the programme for the democratic restructuring of international economic relations, therefore, is to erect a barrier to this exploitation and make external economic relations a tool of development. A realistic approach should of course be taken to these goals. Exploitation can be ended only when capitalism has been done away with and the programme to establish a new international economic order can in no way be considered a radical anti-capitalist manifesto. What it aspires to do is not to break down the capitalist machinery of the international division of labour but merely to make adjustments in it to give better chances to Third World states. Many of the programme's demands are willy-nilly compromises because they are the sum total of the views of emergent countries which have reached different levels of development and have diverse economic interests and different political orientations. The programme for a new international economic order only embraces the realm of foreign economic relations but does not prescribe domestic democratic reforms. This being so, there is no guarantee that any additional revenue, if it is secured by developing states, will be distributed fairly.

Last but not least, different social classes in the emergent countries have different approaches to a new international economic order. Those who gravitate towards the capitalist classes and the social and bureaucratic elite view this programme as the ultimate goal, new rules of the game with the monopolists in the former parent states, whereas those who carry the double burden of foreign and domestic exploitation consider it to be a starting point for further efforts to secure thoroughgoing progressive reform.

Meanwhile, a new international economic order is for all the developing countries a common rallying point in the current struggle to have their economic demands met. This is how the non-aligned movement interprets it. Moreover, the movement also sees it in a broader context, as a contribution towards an improvement in the entire world economy and a stable international economic and political climate. There can be no "equitable and viable system of international economic co-operation without a basic and fundamental change in the approaches and policies of the developed countries with respect to the establishment of a new international economic order," the seventh conference of heads of state or government of non-aligned countries in New Delhi in 1983 said in its economic declaration. The New Delhi conference also stated in its political declaration that "durable peace can only be assured through a restructuring of the world economy with a view to establishing a new international economic order and bridging the economic gap between developing and developed countries."

The emergent countries are motivated, and with good reason, to a new international economic order not only by the necessity to do away with their own backwardness but also by the tragic plight of their economies, caused by the effects of a series of crises in the 1970s-80s, from which the developing world, unlike the imperialist powers, has not as yet been able to extricate itself. As the New Delhi conference stressed, "for the first time since World War II, there had been a decline in the per capita GNP of many developing countries. Commodity prices in real

FOURTH CONFERENCE OF HEADS OF STATE OR GOVERNMENT OF NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES

Algiers, Algeria
September 5-9, 1973
Chairman—Houari Boumedienne, Chairman of the Revolutionary Council and the Council of Ministers of the Algerian People's Democratic Republic
75 participating countries
20 countries as observers
3 countries as guests

The participants in the conference approved a political declaration, a declaration on the struggle for national liberation and a number of political resolutions, inter alia, on apartheid and racial discrimination in South Africa, on the Middle East situation and the Palestine problem (condemning comprehensive U.S. aid to Israel and demanding an immediate end to it) and on the Korean problem (demanding the withdrawal of all foreign troops from South Korea).

The conference's economic declaration formulated for the first time the idea of establishing "a new international economic order which would meet the requirements of genuine democracy." The sixth U.N. special session, convened on the initiative of the non-aligned movement in 1974, approved the basic documents on the establishment of a new international economic order.

The non-aligned summit also approved a programme of action for economic cooperation and a resolution on economic security and collective action. The conference formulated the idea of exchanges in mass communications between the non-aligned countries. Their proposal was soon implemented through the establishment of a pool of non-aligned news agencies, which began to function in January 1975.

The conference set up a Non-Aligned Nations Coordinating Bureau, comprising 17 member countries.

terms were the lowest in the last 50 years. Access to developed countries' markets for their manufactured products was being increasingly curtailed. The earnings of developing countries had shown an ominous decline while interest rates on foreign loans had dramatically increased.... Their balance of payments deficits and their burden of debt had reached crushing levels."

The situation in the Third World has further deteriorated in many ways since that time.

What the Third World Wants

So what is the non-aligned movement demanding under the programme for a new international economic order?

Since raw materials and fuel account for 80 per cent of the total exports of developing countries, priority attaches to the need to stabilize markets for those goods. This demand is explained by two equally negative factors. The first is a sharp drop in prices for raw materials and hence the shrinking buying power of the hard currency earnings of the emergent states: between 1980 and 1983 alone, 56 of the 83 developing states saw their export revenue dwindling, including Ghana's by 57 per cent and Mozambique's by 62 per cent. Second, frequent fluctuations of prices make the dynamics of export earnings unpredictable. Between 1972 and 1983, for instance, the prices of 23 raw materials fluctuated within a range of 12-30 per cent, eight products within a range of 20-30 per cent, and six products, namely, sugar, coffee, cocoa beans, copra, coconut oil and palm oil, within as much as 30-50 per cent.

That is why the programme for a new international economic order suggests that international agreements be concluded on 18 basic export commodities; by regulating supply and demand on the market, these agreements would make it possible to reduce price fluctuations and maintain prices at a more or less stable level.

The programme provides at the same time for the task of expanding on-the-spot primary processing of raw materials because preprocessed raw materials yield higher profits for producers. At present only a third of the total output of raw materials is preprocessed. The demand is made at the same time for the preservation and even expansion of "the system of general preferences," i. e., customs and other privileges for Third World producers on the markets of the developed states. This practice would encourage the industrialization of the emergent states since their domestic markets cannot sustain robust mass production.

The problem of technology transfers is closely related to that of industrialization. No real progress is possible in the age of the scientific and technological revolution without technology transfers. It is in this area that the dependence of the developing countries is especially great. Suffice it to say that a mere five per cent of the world's total number of patents are issued in the Third World and, moreover, four out of five of them are controlled by foreign corporations. The research personnel of the Third World, inadequate as it is, is being steadily depleted by a brain drain to the West. More than 310,000 such immigrants settled in the U.S. alone between 1961 and 1979.

The non-aligned movement is pressing

DECLINE AND FLUCTUATIONS IN PRICES OF RAW MATERIALS PRODUCED BY DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

(1985 prices in percentages of 1980; range of fluctuations in per cent in 1972-1983)

	Decline	Fluctuations
All raw materials, including:	69.9	...
cotton	73.0	12.2
sizal	70.7	23.9
wood	70.5	12.0
tin	66.0	19.7
wool	65.5	13.8
aluminium	65.1	15.2
maize	63.9	12.4
copper	62.9	18.9
fish meal	58.1	18.2
wheat	54.5	15.1
rubber	52.3	19.6
rice	51.1	22.5
tungsten	50.2	28.6
zinc	41.9	18.3
sugar	13.0	51.1

Sources: International Financial Statistics, February 1986, pp. 202-205, UNCTAD, Statistical Pocketbook, N.Y., 1984, p. 45

for the free access of developing countries to technology, more liberal terms for technology transfers and an end to, or compensation for, the brain drain, as well as for a U.N. code of conduct for technology transfers and a reform of the international patent system.

The Debt Noose

The problem of the developing countries' foreign indebtedness grew to unprecedentedly acute levels in the early 1980s. The Western powers, using the crisis as a pretext, drastically cut back government aid to development; in 1983 aid accounted for a mere 0.34 per cent of the gross national product of those states, and even 0.2 per cent of the GNP of the U.S. as against the level of 0.7 per cent set by the United Nations. This reduction along with shrinking export revenues made huge gaps in the budgets of the emergent states, which have to be patched up with loans from transnational banks at exorbitantly high rates of interest. While in 1970 loans to the developing countries totalled just a few billion dollars, the figure in 1978 was 81 billion and in 1982 as high as 130 billion dollars. In 1986, the aggregate indebtedness of the developing countries plus interest had topped the astronomical figure of a trillion (million million!) dollars. Debt servicing absorbs almost a third of the export earnings of these countries. More than 100 developing states are in debt today, but it is the Latin American countries that are in especially difficult straits.

The developing countries are persistently demanding increased intergovernment aid to development on easy terms, the cancellation or rescheduling of a part of their debts, more liberal credit terms, and limits on the servicing of debts to a certain percentage of export earnings so that national socio-economic development plans are not frustrated. Yet the idea of the total unilateral refusal to pay the debts has not won support at non-aligned fora.

Lastly, the developing countries would like to use a new international economic order to ease at least partially the transnationals' control of their economies. They want sovereignty over their own natural resources and economic activity (namely, the nationalization of the property of foreign monopolies) and also demand control over the flow of goods in international trade, including transport, insurance, storage, subprocessing and marketing — still the domain of transnational corporations, which earn huge profits for them. Meanwhile, the direct producers get only a small share of the final price of their products.

The U.S.S.R. Supportive

The struggle of the developing countries to restructure international economic relations on a just basis, which would include the progressive principles of a new international economic order, is supported by socialist countries. This support is manifest in the new edition of the CPSU Programme approved by the 27th Party Congress. As early as 1965 the Soviet Union cancelled all tariffs on imports from developing countries. It grants these countries easy government credits, to be repaid with their exports, and strongly advocates at the United Nations the early adoption of such documents as a code of conduct of transnational corporations, a code on transfer of technology and reforms in currency and patent systems. The U.S.S.R. has ratified the U.N. Convention on the Law of the Sea and the Code of Conduct for the Linear Shipping Conferences. The diplomacy of the socialist and Third World countries are combining their efforts to end neocolonialism and improve the plight of the developing countries in the capitalist economy.

The West Hostile

The position of the imperialist powers is very different. The more far-sighted imperialist politicians realize that a new international economic order would create new markets for Western exports. However, overall Western policy and policies towards a new international economic order and the non-aligned movement are formulated today by conservative forces which ignore the movement and sabotage talks on a new international economic order.

This tactic on the part of imperialism is symptomatic of its ambition to take socio-political revenge on the national liberation movement. The West would like to bury the programme for a new international economic order, which

GAP BETWEEN THE DEVELOPED CAPITALIST AND THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES IN THE SPHERE OF EDUCATION, SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Indicators	Developed capitalist countries	Developing world			
		Total	Asia	Africa	Latin America
Scientists and engineers per 10,000 of population	285.2	90.5	157.6	9.6	68.7
R&D personnel per 10,000 of population	16.6	1.5	1.2	0.5	1.9
R&D spending, per cent of GNP	1.3	0.2	0.5	0.2	0.2
Literacy, per cent	98.5	54.0	64.5	34.5	85.0
Per cent of children with access to elementary school education	91.0	70.5	69.5	56.0	82.0

Source: UNCTAD, Statistical Pocketbook, p. 80

THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES' FOREIGN INDEBTEDNESS AND PAYMENTS ON DEBTS
(billion dollars)

	1977	1980	1983	1984	1985*
Total indebtedness	328	559	782	863	over 1,000
Debt servicing including:	39.6	89.6	111.7	121.3	142.9
repayment of principal	24.2	43.8	46.7	49.8	62.2
interest	15.4	45.8	65.0	71.5	80.7

* Estimate
Sources: IMF, World Economic Outlook, 1984, pp. 64, 72; BIKI, 7 December 1985.

emerged in the years of détente, in escalated tension and confrontation.

Moreover, overshadowed by domestic economic troubles, the policies of the Western powers are becoming increasingly selfish and nationalistic. Western diplomacy is actually renouncing the principle of unilateral advantage for developing countries and agrees to negotiate only individual aspects of a new international economic order. It is trying in every way to undermine the solidarity of the non-aligned countries. While Western Europe still displays some inklings of reformism in a North-South dialogue, the United States accepts nothing short of the surrender of the Third World on Washington's terms.

When all is said and done, the West is opposed to the conclusion of an assorted range of interrelated commodity agreements to normalize the market in a broad sense but only consents to agreements on individual commodities, primarily those whose production is no longer controlled by transnationals to one degree or another. As regards manufactured goods, they demand, first, concessions in return for import privileges to developing countries and, second, differentiation of privileges by groups of countries, which amounts to the tried and tested "divide and rule" approach. As a consequence, 38 per cent of the developing countries' farm exports and 24 per cent of their manufactured goods still face high protectionist barriers while the United States has scrapped roughly half the privileges it once offered. The point today is therefore not so much to expand "the general system of preferences" as to preserve it at all.

It is on the problem of indebtedness that the West's downright hostile response to the needs of the developing countries manifests itself especially graphically. The Western powers actually reject the idea put forward by the non-aligned movement that political solutions should be sought to the problem. The most the West will agree to is the rescheduling of interest payments on individual loans on the condition that the U.S.-controlled International Monetary Fund (IMF) should supervise the finances of the debtor country. The demands made by the IMF, meanwhile, include the abolition of the public sector, higher retail prices for staple goods and the curtailment of employment, which means growing numbers of jobless. Small wonder that mass public anger has erupted more than once in many debtor countries.

Exploitation Goes On

This policy is shortsighted as it merely widens the gap between a handful of industrialized capitalist countries and those developing nations—that is most of them — which are condemned to poverty, famine and despair. Yet monopolies and banks earn extra profits from this gap—and profit comes first for imperialism.

Specialists at the Institute of World Economics and International Relations have estimated that between 1980 and 1984 the United States was getting from the developing countries an average of $10 billion a year in the profits of transnationals, $28 billion in payment on foreign loans granted by the government and banks, $11.6 billion generated by the inflated dollar exchange rate, $15 billion from discrepancies between export and import prices, and $4 billion from the brain drain. The ruling elite and capitalists in a number of developing countries creamed off another $10 billion a year which they lodged in American banks. All this adds up to nearly $80 billion a year, or roughly a sixth of the total export revenue of the developing world. In other words, the United States deprives the developing countries of one in every six dollars they earn on the world market. The other leading capitalist powers batten likewise on the Third World.

It is in this grim situation that the non-aligned and other emergent developing states continue to seek improvements in international economic relations, and in doing so they enjoy the constant support of the Soviet Union and the entire socialist community. The proposals formulated by the 27th CPSU Congress on ensuring the international economic security of states are the latest practical steps to this end. These proposals are consonant with the progressive demands of a new international economic order.

The 1983 non-aligned summit in New Delhi defined the programme for establishing a new international economic order "as an integral part of the general struggle of their peoples for political, economic, cultural and social liberation."

Now that the non-aligned summit in Harare is not far off, this programme, in spite of fierce resistance by the neo-colonialists, remains the basis of the emergent states' struggle for economic decolonization. ■

SHARE OF THE TRANSNATIONAL CORPORATIONS IN THE EXPORTS FROM THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES
(per cent)

Phosphates	50-60	Bauxites	80-85
Sugar	60	Wheat	85-90
Rice	70	Coffee	85-90
Oil	75	Maize	85-90
Rubber	70-75	Cotton	85-90
Bananas	70-75	Jute	85-90
Tin	75-80	Pineapples	90
Tea	80	Wood	90
Copper	80-85	Iron ore	90-95

Source: UNCTAD, Statistical Pocketbook, p. 48.

THE NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES

Country	Year of joining
1. Algeria	1961
2. Angola	1976
3. Argentina	1973
4. Afghanistan	1961
5. Bahamas	1983
6. Bahrain	1972
7. Bangladesh	1973
8. Barbados	1983
9. Belize	1983
10. Benin (Dahomey)	1964
11. Bhutan	1973
12. Bolivia	1979
13. Botswana	1969
14. Burkina Faso (Upper Volta)	1973
15. Burundi	1964
16. Cabo Verde (Cape Verde Islands)	1975
17. Cameroon	1964
18. Central African Republic	1964
19. Chad	1964
20. Chile*	1972
21. Colombia	1983
22. Comoro Islands	1976
23. Congo (Congo-Brazzaville)	1964
24. Côte d'Ivoire (Ivory Coast)	1973
25. Cuba	1961
26. Cyprus	1961
27. Djibouti	1978
28. Ecuador	1983
29. Egypt	1961
30. Equatorial Guinea	1969
31. Ethiopia	1961
32. Gabon	1970
33. Gambia	1969
34. Ghana	1961
35. Grenada	1979
36. Guinea	1961
37. Guinea-Bissau	1975
38. Guyana	1969
39. India	1961
40. Indonesia	1961
41. Iran	1979
42. Iraq	1961
43. Jamaica	1969
44. Jordan	1964
45. Kampuchea (Cambodia)**	1961
46. Kenya	1964
47. Democratic People's Republic of Korea	1975
48. Kuwait	1964
49. Laos	1964
50. Lebanon	1961
51. Lesotho	1970
52. Liberia	1964
53. Libya	1964
54. Madagascar	1972
55. Malawi	1964
56. Malaysia	1969
57. Maldives	1976
58. Mali	1961
59. Malta	1973
60. Mauritania	1964
61. Mauritius	1972
62. Morocco	1961
63. Mozambique	1975
64. Nepal	1961
65. Nicaragua	1979
66. Niger	1973
67. Nigeria	1964
68. Oman	1973
69. Pakistan	1979
70. Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)	1975
71. Panama	1975
72. Peru	1973
73. Qatar	1973
74. Rwanda	1970
75. Sain	
76. São and	
77. Saud	
78. Swa	
79. Sene	
80. Seyc	
81. Sier	
82. Sing	
83. Som	
84. Sout Peop Orga of N (SW	
85. Sri L	

Country	Year of joining
	1981
	1976
	1961
	1970
	1964
	1976
	1964
	1969
	1961
rica	
	1979

Country	Year of joining
(Ceylon)	1961
86. Sudan	1961
87. Surinam	1979
88. Syria	1964
89. Tanzania	1964
90. Togo	1964
91. Trinidad and Tobago	1969
92. Tunisia	1961
93. Uganda	1964
94. United Arab Emirates	1972
95. Vanuatu	1983
96. Vietnam	1975
97. Yemen Arab Republic	1961

Country	Year of joining
98. People's Democratic Republic of Yemen	1969
99. Yugoslavia	1961
100. Zaire (Congo-Kinshasa)	1961
101. Zambia	1964
102. Zimbabwe***	1979

Burma joined the non-aligned movement in 1961, but withdrew from it in 1979.

* Following the reactionary coup in Chile in September 1973 the junta regime has been barred from participation in the non-aligned movement.

** Kampuchea's seat at non-aligned conferences has been vacant since 1979 because of differences in the movement as regards the country's representation.

*** Taking part in the non-aligned movement since 1979 was the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe (liberation organization) and since 1982—the Republic of Zimbabwe.

YAKOV ETINGER

WITH STICK AND CARROT

U.S. Machinations Against the Non-Aligned Movement

The birth of the concept of non-alignment as an independent foreign policy and the emergence of a whole movement of countries that have freed themselves from colonial oppression and made this concept the cornerstone of their external relations could not but have caused alarm in Western capitals which had hoped to keep the former colonies and semi-colonies within their political, military-strategic, economic and ideological orbit. Instead, the young states managed through the policy of non-alignment to weaken their dependence on imperialism, dissociate themselves from it politically and enter international life as independent protagonists in their own right. Moreover, having rejected attempts to draw them into pro-imperialist blocs, these Asian and African countries simultaneously promoted relations of cooperation with the socialist countries.

It was then, in the mid-1950s, that John Foster Dulles, at the time U.S. Secretary of State, committed to building up military alliances in Asia and the Middle East, snubbed the developing countries by declaring that non-alignment was amoral.

To be sure, coming from those who dropped atomic bombs on Japanese cities, unleashed a war in the Korean peninsula and then threw American military might to strangle the freedom of the peoples of Indo-China, such moralizing sounded as hypocritical as the preachings of Washington's neo-globalist hegemonists today. It is they who have elevated outright terrorism to the level of government policy, terrorism often directed against non-aligned countries.

Needless to say, Washington's tactics with regard to the vast developing world, which is almost coextensive with the non-aligned world, does not remain unchanged. It has constantly been modified over the decades since Dulles' day. There have been periods of more restrained policies when pressure on and intimidation of non-aligned countries gave way to wooing and when the economic carrot was dangled instead of the more usual stick. But these have been in the nature of episodes in American policy.

As the Delhi National Herald, which is close to the Indian government, wrote in February 1984, the Reagan Administration openly seeks to dominate the non-aligned movement. Revealing the long-term programme to subvert the non-aligned movement developed by the U.S. National Security Council, the paper wrote that the programme's main aim was to establish total U.S. control over the movement, specifically to weaken the role played in it by India, Cuba, Nigeria, Algeria, and Tanzania; all measures to implement these plans would be carried out jointly by the CIA, USIA, and other government and non-government organizations in the U.S. The increased aggressiveness of the U.S. Administration, the paper warned, posed a serious threat to the non-aligned movement as a whole.

Smuggling Subversive Ideas

What is the concrete objective of Washington's strategy with regard to the non-aligned movement? First, it aims to neutralize or dramatically weaken the anti-imperialist thrust of the movement. It seeks to undermine the underlying anti-war principles of the movement and hinder cooperation between the non-aligned and socialist countries in the international arena. The longer-term objective is to draw the whole movement, and not just individual non-aligned countries, into the orbit of imperialism.

A whole range of ideological, political, economic and military means are used to this end. Skilful play is being made of socio-political differentiation between the members of the movement and the fact that the vast majority of these countries are still part of the capitalist world economy and many are developing along the capitalist path.

To brainwash the public and, in particular, influential forces in the developing countries, recourse is being had on a wide scale to various conceptions and approaches. The greatest effort is perhaps being made to introduce into the non-aligned movement the idea that it should be equidistant from the socialist countries and the imperialist West, i.e., that non-alignment should steer a middle course. According to this view, shared by some conservative pro-Western countries within the movement, the consistently peace-loving policy of the socialist community, which invariably and sincerely supports genuine independence for young states, is equated with the militaristic policy of imperialism, notably, the U.S. And yet it is the U.S. that proclaims almost the entire developing world to be a sphere of its vital interests, displaying great-power contempt for the national interests of the newly independent peoples.

In 1985 the American Council of Foreign Relations published the proceedings of two symposia held jointly with the Indian council of social studies in June 1982 and March 1984. This material clearly shows that American political scientists view non-alignment solely in terms of the "rivalry of the two superpowers." They argued strenuously that the movement should be at least equidistant from Moscow and Washington. They claimed that India could not be considered a non-aligned country since it had friendly relations with the Soviet Union and had even signed a Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation with it. The Indian participants in the symposia challenged these statements and consistently argued that the policy of non-alignment meant freedom of independent action to ensure national interests in each particular case. They stressed that non-alignment does not mean equidistance or neutralism in the struggle for international security, or in upholding the freedom and independence of peoples and nations. Indian political analysts pointed out that American attempts to reduce international relations to the infamous "bipo-

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U.S. fighter-bombers in a piratical raid on Libyan cities.

lar" scheme were aimed in practice at barring the newly independent countries from active involvement in world politics, in total disregard for the growing part they play in the modern world.

Hypocrisy

The ideological aggression of American imperialism against the non-aligned movement has many sides to it. It proceeds in several directions at once. First of all, it tries to emasculate the non-aligned doctrine of its main anti-imperialist principles and divert the newly free countries from the path of anti-imperialist struggle. It seeks to absolve the West, especially the United States, of criticism on the part of the movement and its individual members, and to strike a blow at equal cooperation between the developing countries and the socialist community.

While the notion of equidistance is designed to blunt the movement's anti-imperialist edge, the aim of the concept of "genuine" or "pure" non-alignment is to split the movement, to contrapose "genuine non-alignment" to the policies of Cuba, Vietnam and the young socialist-oriented states which consistently follow an anti-imperialist course. In order to isolate these countries they are being opposed to those members of the movement, considered by Washington to be model, which preserve close political and ideological ties with the U.S. and the West in general. The imperialist West relies on the support of such conservative quarters as pro-Western leaders in, say, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Zaire, Morocco, Ivory Coast and Singapore. The leaders of these countries seek to create a conciliatory, collaborative attitude to the imperialist policy of confrontation within the non-aligned movement.

Relying on the (minority) conservative wing in the movement, the U.S. has recently been more and more insistent in its attempts to gain influence over the majority of non-aligned countries, among them such authoritative members as India, Nigeria, Argentina, Tanzania, Zimbabwe, Zambia, and many other Arab, African, and Latin American countries. However, try as it may Washington is unable to change their independent and peace-loving foreign policy.

It is notable that in its attempts to subjugate the non-aligned movement Washington is not above open falsification of history. It contrasts the early years of the non-aligned movement to the period of the 1970s and early 1980s. Imperialist ideologues who castigated the very doctrine of non-alignment (you will remember that they proclaimed it amoral) now call for a return to "genuine non-alignment" and its "golden age." No wonder

The aftermath of the raid.

Reagan's message to the participants in the seventh non-aligned summit, in which he claimed that the United States adhered, as it had done in 1961, to the principles on which non-alignment rests and extolled these principles, was received as the ultimate in hypocrisy.

Washington and other Western capitals have met with no success in their attempts to associate themselves, if only with hindsight, with the activity of the non-aligned countries, to whitewash their attitude towards them and blunt the anti-imperialist edge of the movement with the help of the concept of equidistance and others that are equally false. The current chairman-coordinator of the non-aligned movement, Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, has stressed that the movement's policy is based on non-alignment, and not on equidistance from the superpowers.

Statistics That Make Washington Uneasy

The crux of the matter lies in the policies pursued by the so-called superpowers. The struggle waged by the non-aligned countries for the preservation of peace, against the dangerous arms race, their desire to promote their political independence and achieve economic independence inevitably place them in opposition to imperialism and bring them closer to the U.S.S.R. and other socialist countries. It is an objective process even though some Third World leaders may consciously be opposed to it.

This objective character is highlighted at the United Nations General Assembly sessions. The overwhelming majority of non-aligned countries, and often all of them, vote with the U.S.S.R. and other socialist countries on most of the fundamental questions associated with the strengthening of peace, disarmament, and the settlement of regional conflicts (the Middle East, southern Africa, Central America). R. Jackson, an American student of international relations, cites some interesting data on that score in his recently published book on the non-aligned countries, the

LET US FIGHT!

Today, after a term of more than three years, in handing over the chairmanship of the non-aligned movement to our esteemed Indira Gandhi and to India, which she so rightfully represents by historic merit, we can state as testimony of having fulfilled a duty that the unity of our movement has not been weakened, that its vigour has grown, that its independence has been safeguarded against all schemes to curtail it. It is a movement fully belonging to a community of countries which in the years of joint effort have made it an instrument for peace, national liberation and economic development.

We must make the big nuclear powers pledge that none will be the first to use this devastating weapon. We must demand from the main protagonists of a possible nuclear confrontation, from the representatives of the powerful military pacts that presently confront each other in the world arena, to abandon the very idea of supremacy, to immediately start the negotiations humanity is so anxious for, to accept military parity at the lowest possible level as a preliminary to universal and complete disarmament—the sole and decisive guarantee against war.

The danger of war threatens us as citizens of the world, but it also affects us as nations that aspire to reaffirm or win, whatever the case may be, our national independence and develop our weak economies. The very same policy that underlies the maniacal pretentions to military supremacy creates situations in the Middle East, southern Africa and Central America, against which the movement has had to raise its voice during the years preceding this summit meeting.

For that reason, we have said that for us, the members of the non-aligned movement, to fight war does not only mean opposing universal holocaust, but also defending our own immediate political interests.

Without peace—we are all convinced of that—economic development is not possible, just as peace would not be possible without economic development.

As may be noted, there is a dramatic link between peace and economic development. Just one third of the $650 billion used every year for military needs and of the $15,000 billion that will be spent in the coming decades, at the present growth rate of these expenditures, would be more than enough to ensure financial resources to solve the problems of the world's economic and social development. This would contribute, moreover, to considerably mitigating the economic problems of the industrial capitalist countries themselves.

In the face of the nuclear tragedy threatening us, the drama of underdevelopment and exploitation and the economic and social crisis, there is no place for resignation or compromise. The only worthy choice is to fight.

Let us fight!

From the speech by FIDEL CASTRO at the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries. Delhi. March 1983.

Half a billion people are starving in the Third World. But instead of feeding them, vast sums are being squandered on the arms race imposed by imperialism and militarism.

FIFTH CONFERENCE OF HEADS OF STATE OR GOVERNMENT OF NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES

Colombo, Sri Lanka
August 16-19, 1976
Chairman—Sirimavo Bandaranaike,
Prime Minister of Sri Lanka
85 participating countries
14 countries as observers
7 countries as guests

The political declaration reads in part: "The underlying cause of the international tension that imperilled world peace and security was attributable mainly to the forces of imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism, Zionism, racism, and other forms of alien domination which endeavour by pressure or threat or use of force to hinder the political and economic emancipation of nations and maintain the existing pattern of unjust and unequal relationships in the international community thereby denying peoples their inalienable right to freedom and self-determination." The conference welcomed the victory of the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea in their struggle against American imperialist aggression.

It adopted an economic declaration and a programme of action for economic cooperation.

The conference adopted 32 resolutions: on disarmament (proposing a special U.N. session on disarmament), racial discrimination and apartheid in the African continent, on South Africa and Namibia (characterizing the policy of apartheid in South Africa as an international crime), the Middle East and the Palestine question, the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace (strongly condemning the establishment, maintenance and expansion of foreign military bases, such as Diego Garcia, and calling for their dismantling), and the creation of a new international monetary order.

The Coordinating Bureau was enlarged to 25 member states.

U.N., and the superpowers. He has calculated that during the 1982 session of the U.N. General Assembly, the non-aligned countries voted with the Soviet Union on 83 out of 100 occasions, and with the United States in 20 cases out of 100. The second indice tends to drop from one session to the next.

One can cite another example. The New York Times, analyzing the political declaration of the seventh non-aligned summit conference, counted eleven cirticisms of the United States in 55 pages while not a single one of its provisions was critical of the U.S.S.R. The Swiss newspaper Neue Zürcher Zeitung had this comment to make: "To this day there is a gaping discrepancy between the positions the non-aligned countries take with regard to the great powers. While the U.S.S.R. was not even mentioned in connection with the Afghanistan question, the United States has been repeatedly and categorically pilloried for its interference in the affairs of Central American countries, and its policy in the Middle East and southern Africa."

The U.S. State Department saw fit to react to the Delhi forum by stating that the Delhi declaration of the non-aligned movement was in many ways an unbalanced and polemical document that did not reflect the principles of non-alignment proclaimed by the movement, which was deplorable. That the U.S. government thought the document deplorable is not surprising. But there is every reason to be puzzled and indignant about many other things. Washington that has engineered confrontation and the cold war, and is building up aggressive military-political blocs which the non-aligned movement has always opposed surely has no business to interpret the principles of non-alignment.

Washington was critical of the decisions taken in Delhi because the political part of the declaration contained allegedly unjustified attacks on the United States and failed to criticize the Soviet Union. But what other attitude could be taken with regard to the policies of the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.? The Soviet Union is actively and deliberately seeking to remove the threat of nuclear war, limit the nuclear arms race and eventually have nuclear armaments destroyed. It unfailingly supports the right of nations to independence and consistently advocates broad cooperation and peaceful coexistence. By contrast, the United States is whipping up the arms race on earth and trying to spread it to outer space, it is grossly interfering in the internal affairs of independent states, relies on crude force and does not hesitate to use it against non-aligned countries. A fresh example is provided by the armed attack on Libya.

Neoglobalist Brigandage

Washington has recently provided a theoretical basis for its openly hegemonistic policy and imperialist ambitions. That basis is the doctrine of neoglobalism. U.S. ruling circles are using this theory to justify any act of interference and blackmail against those non-aligned countries whose internal arrangements and foreign policies for one reason or other displease the White House.

Washington barely attempts to

At the seventh non-aligned summit held in Delhi in March 1983 Fidel Castro handed over the functions of chairman of the movement to Indira Gandhi.

camouflage the fact that its main aim is to overthrow the governments in a number of sovereign states, replace them with docile puppets and change the systems of government and other institutions chosen by these peoples to conform to its own predilections. To this end the United States has for several years been spearheading a cruel undeclared war against democratic Afghanistan. It is being fought by counterrevolutionaries whom the U.S.A. has provided with more than $1.5 billion worth of armaments. Washington is waging a similar war against the republic of Nicaragua by giving multimillion support to the contras. As for freedom and sovereignty and the non-aligned status of tiny Grenada in the Caribbean, they were trampled by the American jackboot on presidential orders in October 1983. And who ordered the battleship New Jersey to use its heavy artillery against Lebanese villages? Most recently, the White House ordered the bombing of sovereign, non-aligned Libya.

The United States, together with the racist regime in South Africa, openly backs and arms UNITA bandits in Angola. Washington in general pursues a policy of "constructive cooperation" with the racist regime in Pretoria, a regime which is using fire and sword against the country's blacks fighting for equality and human dignity, a regime which defies U.N. resolutions and continues to keep its colonial stranglehold on illegally occupied Namibia, constantly stages armed attacks on independent non-aligned countries in southern Africa, such as Angola, and has even done so on three countries at once—Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe—as happened last May.

The list could go on indefinitely. The United States finances anti-government groups in Kampuchea. And, of course, it has a full "strategic alliance" with Israel aimed not only against the Soviet Union, but primarily against Arab countries and peoples. At the U.N. Security Council, the United States unfailingly extends its protection to the Israeli expansionists and South African racists, using its veto to prevent the application of international sanctions against them.

But this does not complete the list of state-sponsored terrorist activities Washington is pursuing with regard to non-aligned countries. It does not stop at organizing reactionary coups in non-aligned countries, a particularly bloody example being the Chilean coup in September 1973 when President Salvador Allende was murdered. Nor does it stop at attempts to destabilize the internal situation in various countries by encouraging extremist and separatist elements, as in India in recent years. This is what lies behind Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's assassination in October 1984 when she was chairing the non-aligned movement.

Through the Prism of Confrontation

Washington's policy towards the non-aligned countries and the non-aligned movement as a whole is characterized by the use of power methods and direct military-political pressure, and the cynical use of financial and economic levers to bring "recalcitrants" to heel. Imperialism considers any progressive,

let alone revolutionary, change in Asia, Africa or Latin America through the prism of global confrontation between the U.S. and the Soviet Union. And if the leaders of the American Administration now prefer not to call the non-aligned movement amoral, this does not mean that they have changed their attitude to it. From time to time Washington's real attitude comes to the surface. This happened, for example, in late 1985, when the U.S. ambassador at the U.N., retired general and CIA veteran Vernon Walters, described the non-aligned countries as a "flock of sheep." This was not the only remark of this kind on his part. He had resorted to undisguised threats on the eve of the meeting of non-aligned foreign ministers in Luanda in September 1985. Nor did he conceal his indignation in late April at the U.N. Security Council where a delegation from the non-aligned movement that had visited Tripoli in the wake of the barbaric American air raids presented its report.

The Bombay Daily wrote that Walters' threats to the Third World countries to suspend American aid if they continued to vote against U.S. interests in the U.N. amounted to open blackmail to which the developing countries were not going to yield.

And indeed, at the Luanda conference the non-aligned countries reaffirmed their anti-imperialist and anti-war policy in general and on more specific and individual issues. At the U.N. General Assembly in late 1985 they did not side with the U.S. in most instances. This was not because they were "against the interests of the U.S." but because the United States itself opposed actions aimed at maintaining peace and achieving international security.

Imperialist circles likewise failed to split the Luanda conference on the question of the venue for the next (eighth) non-aligned summit. The capital of the young African republic of Zimbabwe was unanimously chosen as its venue. The choice of Harare reflected the desire of the movement to step up support for the struggle against the racist regime in South Africa which enjoys U.S. military and political backing. The head of the Indian delegation at the Luanda conference pointed out that racist South Africa could not have flouted the decisions of the international community without the support of its Western allies. African members of the non-aligned movement are well aware of all this. The shift of attention within the non-aligned movement to the problems of decolonization, and the struggle against imperialism and neocolonialism, wrote The Times of India, should make things difficult for anyone at all close to Pretoria both on the question of sanctions against South Africa and on the question of withdrawing investment from it.

Neither open attacks nor covert subversive U.S. actions against the non-aligned movement are without effect. But the important thing is that American pressure is meeting with increasing resentment and resistance on the part of the non-aligned countries. These countries are playing an ever more positive and constructive part in the worldwide effort to end the nuclear arms race on earth and prevent it in outer space, strengthen the freedom and independence of peoples and promote the principles of peaceful coexistence. In all this they are objectively making common cause with the countries of the socialist community. So, the thesis of their "equidistance" is totally false.

■

NON-ALIGNMENT IS INDEPENDENCE

We cannot risk any shadow on our freedom of judgement and action. We have no quarrel with any group of nations, but we speak out against injustice.

[The significance of the non-aligned movement] is not to be measured by the number of divisions or the megatons of destructive power we command, but by the intensity with which we desire peace and freedom, development and international justice.

Non-alignment is national independence and freedom. It stands for peace and the avoidance of confrontation. It aims at keeping away from military alliances. It means equality among nations and the democratization of international relations, economic and political. It is a strategy for the recognition and preservation of the world's diversity.

We are against exploitation. We are for each nation's right to its resources and policies. We want an equal voice in the operation of international institutions. We reiterate our commitment to the establishment of a new international economic order based on justice and equality.

Development, independence, disarmament and peace are closely related. Can there be peace alongside nuclear weapons? Without peace, my father said, all our dreams of development turn to ashes. It has been pointed out that global military expenditure is twenty times the total official development assistance. Each day, every hour, the size and lethality of nuclear weapons increase. A nuclear aircraft carrier costs $4 billion, which is more than the aggregate gross national product of 53 countries. The hood of the cobra is spread. Humankind watches in frozen fear, hoping against hope that it will not strike. Never before has the earth faced so much death and danger.

Only with coexistence can there be any existence. No single power or group of powers has the justification or moral authority to ... interfere or intervene. You cannot condemn one instance but condone another. Each situation has its own origins. Whatever they be, solutions must be political and peaceful. All states must abide by the principle that force or the threat of force will not be used against the territorial integrity or political independence of another state.

We are non-nuclear states; we want nuclear energy to be used only for peace. But we too have a right to live and be heard. In the name of humanity and on benalf of us all, I call upon the nuclear powers to renounce the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons in any circumstances, to suspend all nuclear weapon tests and the production and deployment of nuclear weapon and to resume disarmament.

Above all, let us proclaim anew our belief that independence, development, disarmament and peace are indivisible, and reaffirm our unshakable faith in the five principles which are the foundations of non-alignment, namely, sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-aggression, non-interference, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence.

From the speech by INDIRA GANDHI at the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries. Delhi. March 1983.

LEONID TEPLINSKY

UNITY ON THE CRUCIAL ISSUES

"Were it not for the Soviet Union, it would have been impossible even to conceive of the measure of independence enjoyed today by small states, the successful struggle of peoples to regain control of their natural resources, or the fact that their voices now sound impressively in the chorus of nations," Fidel Castro said several years ago.

Indeed, the Soviet Union has always resolutely defended the inalienable right of the peoples of all young countries to choose their path of development freely, without pressure or outside interference. The U.S.S.R. supports their resistance to imperialism's aggressive designs and encroachments on their national sovereignty and territorial integrity. It considers it to be its internationalist duty to help them in the struggle against imperialism.

The principal aims established by the non-aligned movement at its foundation—the safeguarding of peace, peaceful coexistence, the settlement of disputes by peaceful means, ending the arms race, the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and racism, to achieve economic independence and extensive equal cooperation—could not but have had the solidarity and support of the socialist community.

The efforts of the non-aligned countries to ensure favourable international conditions in which to overcome the heavy legacy of the colonial past, fulfil national development programmes and raise the living standards of their peoples are consonant with the aims of socialist states. As the embodiment of the most progressive social system, the socialist community is a steadfast ally of all who struggle for national and social liberation, equality, justice, peace, democracy and progress. The aims and policies of the socialist community, on the one hand, and those of the non-aligned movement on the other (even though it includes in its ranks a whole spectrum of widely differing countries) are close or even coincide on the most fundamental issues, among them the struggle to strengthen peace and avert the danger of nuclear war, achieve disarmament and détente, eliminate seats of military conflict and strengthen security in various parts of the world, and abolish foreign military bases on the territory of other countries.

Both these powerful forces of our time—the socialist community and the non-aligned world—are at one in their rejection of neocolonialism, racism and imperialist diktat. They show solidarity in the struggle to improve international economic relations and ensure the economic security of states.

The cause of peace, freedom and the independence of peoples stands to gain when the socialist and non-aligned countries act shoulder to shoulder in the international arena. The prestige of the non-aligned movement and its member countries also grows and the movement itself presents a more united front and becomes increasingly militant.

Just as the Decree on Peace was the first foreign policy act of the Soviet state, the non-aligned movement clearly and loudly stated its adherence to the cause of peace, disarmament and the security of peoples at its first summit conference in Belgrade in September 1961. The striving to achieve tangible advances in disarmament permeates the movement's activities and, naturally, is fully shared by the socialist community.

For Peace on Earth and in Space

Just as naturally, the leaders of many non-aligned states welcome the Soviet foreign policy proposals aimed at creating a safer world. Extensive support was given to the bold and at the same time very concrete programme opening up a realistic avenue to a nuclear-free world that was outlined in the January 15, 1986 statement by the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev. It provides for a stage-by-stage general and complete elimination of nuclear weapons by the year 2000 and a ban on the development, testing and deployment of space strike weapons. At a meeting of the Coordinating Bureau in New Delhi in mid-April the ministers for foreign affairs of the non-aligned countries praised this comprehensive programme for nuclear disarmament proposed by the Soviet Union. The current chairman of the non-aligned movement, Prime Minister of India Rajiv Gandhi, described the Soviet plan as an alternative to a nuclear arms race in space and a search for real avenues leading to the abolition of nuclear arms on our planet.

CLOSE COOPERATION OUR POLICY

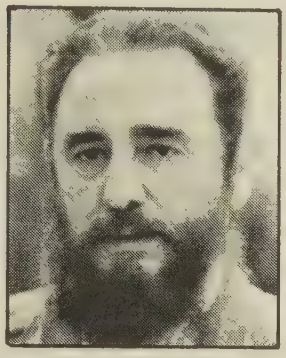
An immutable factor is the CPSU's solidarity with the forces of national liberation and social emancipation, and our course towards close interaction with socialist-oriented countries, with revolutionary-democratic parties, and with the non-aligned movement.

From the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress, February 25, 1986.

Leonid Teplinsky, b. 1925, D. Sc. (Hist.)

SIXTH CONFERENCE OF HEADS OF STATE OR GOVERNMENT OF NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES

Havana, Cuba
September 3-9, 1979
Chairman—Fidel Castro,
Chairman of the Council of State and Council of Ministers of Cuba
92 participating countries
15 countries as observers
8 countries as guests



The conference adopted a political declaration setting forth in detail the main aims of the non-aligned movement and confirming the five criteria of membership thereof. Special emphasis was laid on the need for the unity and solidarity of the non-aligned countries "to sustain the movement's independence and strength, as well as to achieve its goals." Ten resolutions were adopted on political issues including Palestine, the situation in the Middle East and Jerusalem.

The conference worked out an economic declaration and a programme of action for economic co-operation [in such fields as raw materials, trade, transport, industrialization, finance, scientific and technological development, food and agriculture, fisheries, public health, etc.] It also adopted 11 resolutions on economic matters, including those on special measures for the benefit of the least developed countries, on the main political principles for consolidating the collective self-sufficiency of developing countries, and on global talks on international economic cooperation for development.

It was decided to increase the number of member countries of the Coordinating Bureau to 36.

FOR THE DISSOLUTION OF BLOCS

The CPSU stands for overcoming the division of the world into politico-military groupings. The CPSU favours the simultaneous dissolution of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organization, or, as a first step, the disbandment of their military organizations. To lower confrontation between the military blocs, the Soviet Union advocates the conclusion of a treaty between them on the mutual non-use of force and the maintenance of relations of peace, a treaty which would be open to all other states as well.

From the Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (new edition) adopted by the 27th CPSU Congress. March 1986.

The non-aligned movement has constantly stressed in all the political documents of its highest bodies, from the Belgrade declaration on, that outer space should be used exclusively for peaceful purposes. This thesis is being substantiated ever more convincingly especially in connection with the threat to militarize outer space in line with the American "star wars" programme. At their conference in Luanda in September 1985 the foreign ministers of the non-aligned countries stated that this programme "threatens to exacerbate rather than ameliorate the present global instability based on the threat of mutual annihilation and leads to an unprecedented escalation in the nuclear arms race."

It is not surprising, therefore, that when, soon afterwards, the question of international cooperation in the peaceful exploitation of outer space under conditions of its non-militarization was examined at the 40th Session of the U.N. General Assembly, the shared positions and approaches of the socialist and non-aligned countries with regard to this problem were especially apparent. As a result of discussions the non-aligned group elaborated in cooperation with the Soviet delegation a draft resolution "Prevention of an Arms Race in Outer Space" and submitted it to the session for consideration. Only the United States and the puppet regime in Grenada voted against it.

The sweeping concept of creating a comprehensive system of international security, announced at the 27th CPSU Congress, serves the interests of all peoples in the world, including, of course, those of the non-aligned countries. In fact this concept is a global programme for mankind's self-preserva-

tion and continued advance, encompassing as it does all the key spheres, military, political, economic and humanitarian. Many of the fundamentals of this system set out at the congress directly reflect the views and stands upheld and championed by the non-aligned movement.

For their part the non-aligned and other peace-loving countries also strive to work ever more actively for an improvement in the world situation.

In May 1984 the leaders of six countries from four continents—Argentina, India, Tanzania, Mexico, Greece and Sweden (the first three being members of the non-aligned movement) jointly called on the nuclear powers to freeze their nuclear-missile arsenals and start to reduce them. As was to be expected, the Soviet Union responded positively to this initiative. But the United States Administration, obsessed as it is with the aim of achieving nuclear-missile superiority, refuses to take any steps that would make possible even a slowing down of the arms race.

In the course of 1985-86 the leaders of the six countries repeatedly called on the U.S.S.R. and the U.S. to stop nuclear tests or at least to suspend them till the holding of the second Soviet-American summit following the one in Geneva. The Soviet Union responded constructively to all these appeals. It imposed a moratorium on nuclear explosions as from August 6, 1985 and then three times extended it, the last time up to August 6, 1986. But Washigton totally ignored the opinion of the peace-loving countries, including those in the non-aligned movement, and continues to hold one underground nuclear explosion after another in Nevada.

Settlement of Regional Conflicts

The non-aligned movement and the socialist community vigorously advoc-

INTERVIEWS IN THE CAPITAL OF THE PRESIDING COUNTRY

One of the buildings in the government complex near the presidential palace is known in Delhi as the Southern Block. It houses the Prime Minister's office and the Ministry of External Affairs. Another office was opened there after India had been elected chairman of the non-aligned movement in March 1983. A special non-aligned movement department was set up within the framework of the Foreign Ministry. This is the national mechanism by means of which India discharges its functions as chairman. The department can be described as the technical centre of this influential political movement of our time.

Having walked through a succession of stone corridors—refreshingly cool even on the hottest summer days—I found myself in the office of the head of the Indian External Affairs Ministry's non-aligned movement department. Incidentally, the office is almost next door to the Prime Minister's. Mr Pramathesh Rath, my host, offered me a traditional Indian cup of tea. After a few preliminaries, I started to interview him. My first question was:

What was the non-aligned movement's reaction to the proposals for the step-by-step elimination of nuclear weapons put forward by Mikhail Gorbachev in his statement of January 15, 1986?

As chairman of the non-aligned movement, India—and most other non-aligned countries, for that matter—approve of these proposals by the Soviet leader. After all, they are in line with the national position of India and suit the young nations' interests. Indeed, should a nuclear war break out, "nuclear winter" will set in on our planet, its lethal icy breath reaching even the remotest countries. This is why the non-aligned movement has always regarded the banning of the production and use of nuclear weapons as its principal task. This explains why the non-aligned countries enthusiastically welcome Mikhail Gorbachev's statement and regard it as a concrete, detailed and effective plan for delivering our planet from nuclear weapons.

What is the movement's stand on regional conflicts?

Obviously, regional conflicts harass many developing countries and interfere with the process of national construction there. In a number of cases, regional conflicts threaten to develop into something more serious—a global conflict even. This is why the non-aligned movement is making every effort to eradicate flashpoints of tension on the planet. Most of the movement's members believe, however, that, for all their danger to peace, regional conflicts should not overshadow mankind's main objective: preventing a nuclear holocaust by reducing and, ultimately, eliminating nuclear weapons.

Before very long India will have completed its term of office as chairman of the non-aligned movement and handed over the reins of government to its successor, the Republic of Zimbabwe where the next summit conference of the non-aligned countries will be held. At this moment India is reviewing the movement's achievements over the past few years and matching them against the problems still awaiting solution. What, in Delhi's opinion, should be the new chairman's priorities?

It is probably not for us to judge to what an extent we have lived up to the non-aligned countries' expectations. In our work we proceeded from the problems the world has come up against over the past three years. These are, in particular, a marked aggravation of the international situation, the financial burdens the world economic crisis has inflicted on the young nations, and the still persisting pockets of racism and colonialism. Against this background, Delhi seeks to work out a platform common to all members of the movement from which they can work together to resolve current political and economic problems.

"We expect the new chairman of the non-aligned movement," Mr Rath said in conclusion, "to focus its members' attention on the problem of disarmament, and the effort to safeguard peace —the prime condition for the genuine development of the newly independent nations."

Pinned to a wall of Mr Rath's office was a poster carrying a pronouncement by Jawaharlal Nehru: "Non-Alignment is Our Faith." Indeed, non-alignment has not only become a cornerstone of that great Asian country's foreign policy. It has turned into a firm conviction on the part of the Indian people. Dozens of public organizations in In-

ate liquidating existing regional conflicts and preventing the emergence of new ones. Both these groups of states assess in basically identical terms the nature of such critical situations. Far from being an outgrowth of East-West opposition, such conflicts are rooted in the past as well as in the present socio-economic situation in the countries and regions concerned.

Let us take, for instance, the situation in the Middle East which is chronically in crisis because of Israel's expansionism fully supported by the United States. The Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries in New Delhi (March 1983) gave its support to the principles of a Middle East settlement worked out by the Arab summit in Fez (Morocco) in 1982. The same was done by the Warsaw Treaty member countries at a meeting of the organization's Political Consultative Committee in Prague in January 1983. The non-aligned countries support the Soviet proposal to hold an international conference on the Middle East with the participation of all parties concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization, in order to achieve an all-embracing settlement in the region on a just and lasting basis.

The socialist and non-aligned countries take a common stand in respect of the problems of the south of Africa. They voice support for the Namibian people who are fighting for independence and for their sole legitimate representative, SWAPO. They condemn the regime of apartheid, its acts of aggression and subversion against Angola and other "frontline" states and press for the adoption by the international community of comprehensive sanctions against Pretoria. They express their unwavering solidarity with the just struggle of the South African people under the leadership of the African National Congress for the abolition of the racist regime in the Republic of

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dia are disseminating the ideas of non-alignment. The better known of these include Indian Institute for Non-Aligned Studies which operates in Delhi. The News from Non-Aligned World magazine is published under its auspices.

Last March, on the occasion of the third anniversary of the 7th Non-Aligned Conference in Delhi, the Institute conducted a national seminar on non-alignment and the fight for peace and disarmament. Symbolically, the seminar took place in the majestic Vigyan Bhavan palace which had been the venue for the supreme forum of the non-aligned movement in March 1983.

"Non-alignment as a concept," Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi pointed out in his message to those attending the seminar "has meant much more than neutrality. It has assumed the proportion of a powerful movement standing for economic development, freedom and equality among nations. Today the major task before the non-aligned countries is to halt the arms race and establish the only kind of peace that can be enduring—a peace based on mutual respect and love. As before, India intends to be in the vanguard of this international effort, not for glory, but because of a deep conviction and belief."

The reader must have noticed that the concluding words of Rajiv Gandhi's message echo the above-quoted pronouncement by his illustrious grandfather. This is a graphic example of the continuity of India's national policy and its involvement in the affairs of the international community.

That was the subject of discussions at the seminar in Vigyan Bhavan. That was why its participants had every moral right to condemn imperialism, which hinders the attainment of a secure world and disarmament—the very objectives set forth so clearly in the Delhi Declaration adopted in the same palace three years ago.

What has changed since then? It was pointed out at the seminar that the non-aligned movement had grown stronger and is presenting a more united front. But there is another circumstance to be reckoned with: imperialism is intensifying the arms race and drawing ever more developing states into it. The following statistics were cited. Today the world's military spending amounts to $800 billion a year, with the developing countries accounting for a fifth of this sum. The money borrowed for the purchase of more arms alone increases the young nations' debt by 20 per cent. Experts say that about a half their foreign debt, now amounting to a trillion dollars, results directly from the arms race.

How does this happen? The developing countries, speakers at the seminar pointed out, shoulder a substantial proportion of the imperialist powers' expenditure on the arms buildup. Using the mechanism of unequal trade, fettering credits and transnational corporations' profit withdrawal, Western governments are to an ever greater extent pumping material and financial resources out of the young nations.

What is the way out of this situation?

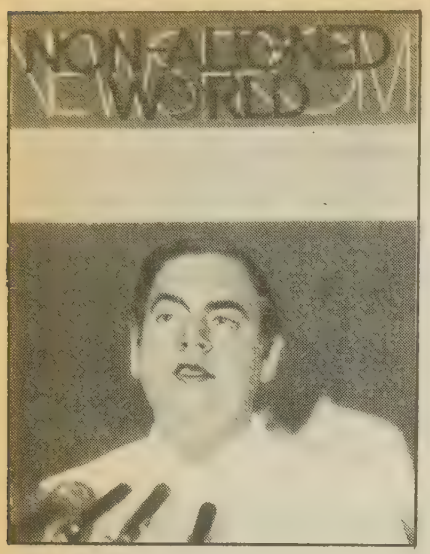
"The new Soviet peace initiatives put forward in Mikhail Gorbachev's statement of January 15 and in the Political Report of the Central Committee at the 27th CPSU Congress offer a realistic way of achieving a durable world peace," Mr Ramamurthy, President of the Indian Institute for Non-Aligned Studies, and a member of parliament, told me. "This truth is steadily coming home to the Afro-Asian and Latin American peoples who have suffered so much from wars and aggression.

"Some Asian countries," Mr Ramamurthy continued, "have been drawn into the arms race by imperialist forces. Rising arms prices mean dozens of unbuilt industrial plants, which could have provided thousands of jobs, and a steadily growing foreign debt. Besides bleeding the national economies white, the foreign debt of the developing countries means something else. The money flowing to the West in repayment does not only enrich the transnational banks but is also used there to fund arms buildup programmes with. This results in a situation which not all Third World nations understand yet: while falling victim to militarism, the young nations are used as a source of finance for it. This mechanism will certainly have still more ruinous consequences if the American 'star wars' programme is carried out.

"The Soviet Union's bold and far-reaching proposals," the President of the Institute concluded, "are consonant with the non-aligned movement's aspirations and with the well-known initiative of the six countries in four continents in the field of disarmament. India, which is among them, believes that the implementation of the six countries' initiative and of the wide-ranging Soviet proposals would make it possible to remove the danger of nuclear war, cut military spending and use the money thus released for the needs of development. This in essence is the ideal of the non-aligned movement."

L. ZHEGALOV
Our Own Correspondent

Delhi



The magazine News from Non-Aligned World is published in Delhi under the auspices of the Indian Institute for Non-Aligned Studies. The photo shows the cover of an 1985 issue of the magazine with a portrait of Rajiv Gandhi, who after the heinous assassination of Indira Gandhi became Prime Minister of India and chairman-coordinator of the non-aligned movement.

South Africa and for freedom and fundamental human rights.

The socialist and non-aligned countries are concerned by the explosive situation in Central America and the Caribbean for which Washigton is responsible. They display solidarity with Nicaragua, advocate a peaceful settlement of the region's problems through talks and welcome peace efforts of the Contadora Group.

The socialist community consistently and resolutely supports the struggle of developing, non-aligned countries for economic independence and complete sovereignty over their natural resources, and against the diktat of imperialist monopolies and financial centres. It supports the restructuring of international economic relations on a just and democratic basis.

The socialist community and the non-aligned movement share an essentially similar—negative—attitude to the division of the world into opposing politico-military blocs. It will be recalled that the Warsaw Treaty countries have repeatedly suggested dissolving simultaneously both alliances—the Warsaw Treaty and NATO, as a first step towards the abolition of their military organizations. But all these and other similar initiatives are stubbornly rejected in Western capitals. For example, the Warsaw Treaty countries stated their intention not to extend their alliance's sphere of activity to other areas of the world and called on the NATO countries to assume a similar obligation. They received not so much as coherent reply.

Diplomats Vote in Solidarity

The community of aims and positions of the socialist community and the non-aligned movement on the main, fundamental international problems results naturally in interaction and cooperation at various international forums and parallel diplomatic actions. This is most clearly reflected in the United Nations Organization, in the discussions and votes at sessions of the General Assembly and Security Council. Thus, at the above-mentioned latest, 40th, Session of the General Assembly more than 70 resolutions on various aspects of curbing the arms race and disarmament were adopted by votes cast by the overwhelming majority of delegations. This means that the socialist and non-aligned countries acted as one, identically. As for the United States, it voted against them 28 times, including 14 times in total isolation or in the company of one or two of its partners.

The unity of views of the socialist countries and the members of the non-aligned movement also manifested itself in the adoption of decisions on most regional problems. Their viewpoints coincided, for instance, on all 25 resolutions on the Middle East problem. The United States voted against 20 of them. On nine occasions it did this only in the company of Israel thereby actually ranging itself against the entire community of nations.

Who to Side With

The Western powers and in particular the United States are using all sorts of methods to convince, persuade or force the non-aligned movement to abandon cooperation with the socialist community, stop showing solidarity with it and supporting it in the international arena against imperialism, and those who foment tension and obstruct disarmament and détente. One of these methods is to urge the non-aligned countries to remain at the least equidistant from the two leading world powers and the two socio-political poles that exist today, to be passive and not to give any preference to the positions of the socialist states.

FOR CONTINUED ACTIVE COOPERATION

THE POLITICAL CONSULTATIVE COMMITEE OF WARSAW TREATY STATES ON THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT

Fully respecting the independence of this movement and the principles on which it is based, the socialist states represented at the meeting are prepared to continue actively to cooperate with non-aligned countries in the struggle against the war threat, for disarmament and peace, for the relaxation of tension, against neocolonialism and racism, and for national independence, and in the solution of international economic problems.

The Warsaw Treaty states consider the questions of ensuring peace and international security, ending the arms race and going over to disarmament in close relationship with the settlement of other global problems faced by mankind, such as the overcoming of economic backwardness and the elimination of hunger, poverty, epidemics and illiteracy in vast areas; the meeting of the growing needs of mankind in energy, raw materials and food resources; environmental protection, and the peaceful exploration of the World Ocean and outer space.

From the statement "For Elimination of the Nuclear Threat and a Change for the Better in European and World Affairs" adopted at the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of Warsaw Treaty states in Sofia. October 23, 1985.

* * *

The participants in the meeting ... noted the growing role of the non-aligned movement as a major factor in interstate relations and expressed the hope that the movement's summit meeting, to be held in Harare in 1986, will make its contribution to the strengthening of peace and international security.

From the Communiqué of the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of Warsaw Treaty states held in Budapest. June 10-11, 1986.

SEVENTH CONFERENCE OF HEADS OF STATE OR GOVERNMENT OF NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES

New Delhi, India
March 7-12, 1983
Chairman—Indira Gandhi,
Prime Minister of India
99 participating countries
9 countries as observers
10 countries as guests

The conference approved a detailed political declaration outlining the non-aligned movement's stand on key international and regional problems. It stressed that the quintessence of non-alignment policy is the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism, apartheid, racism, including Zionism, and all forms of foreign aggression, interference and hegemony, and the striving to achieve a relaxation of international tension and better international understanding.

The New Delhi message, adopted by the conference, called on the nuclear powers to take urgent and practical measures to avert nuclear war, and work out an effective programme of general and complete disarmament, especially nuclear disarmament. "The intolerable inequality and exploitation established by colonialism and imperialism" were named as the most important causes of tension, conflict and violence in the world.

The documents on economic matters included an economic declaration, a declaration on collective action in pursuance of world well-being, a declaration on the collective self-sufficiency of non-aligned and other developing countries, and an action programme on economic cooperation encompassing 23 spheres.

The Coordinating Bureau was enlarged to 74 members [36 seats were allocated to African countries, 23 to Asian, 12 to Latin American and 3 to European countries].

As early as 1981 Indira Gandhi rejected these exhortations. She demonstrated whose real positions and whose policy accord with the interests of the emergent countries. Speaking at the time at a national conference of the Indian Friends of the Soviet Union Society she stated: "It is untenable to interpret non-alignment as equidistance from the superpowers. On the contrary, non-alignment is something very positive. It means taking every chance to improve the outlook of peace and to adopt a clear stand on matters on which we have strong convictions. Take racialism and colonialism. Did not the so-called democratic West take obstructive positions on decolonization and apartheid? Even now, looking at the support given to South Africa and Israel, its record does not shine. The Soviet Union's consistent stand on such matters has brought us closer together. The question is not of our voting with the Soviet Union so much as the Soviet Union voting with the countries of Asia and Africa, and supporting freedom movements and struggles against colonialism."

The treaties of friendship and cooperation signed between socialist countries and a number of non-aligned states reflect the community of aims in the struggle for peace, freedom and the independence of peoples.

The Soviet Union has signed such treaties with India, Afghanistan, Syria, Iraq, democratic Yemen and the Yemen Arab Republic, with Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia and Congo. And it is recorded in these treaties that the U.S.S.R. respects the policy of non-alignment pursued by these countries.

Virtually all countries of the socialist community have concluded similar treaties of frienship and cooperation with non-aligned states: the G.D.R. with Angola and Mozambique, the P.D.R.Y., Afghanistan and Ethiopia; Czechoslovakia with Afghanistan, the P.D.R.Y., Angola, Ethiopia and Libya; Poland with Ethiopia, the Mongolian People's Republic, with Afghanistan, and so on.

These international documents juridically formalize equal political, economic and other relations between the socialist countries and the non-aligned states. These relations are a living embodiment of the principles which in the opinion of the non-aligned countries should form the basis of ties between all countries of the world.

The Soviet Union has never viewed the world through the prism of relations between the great powers alone. The responsibility of all countries—large and small—for the destiny of peace is growing immensely in the present tense situation. It is only by the concerted actions of all progressive, peace-loving forces, among them both world socialism and the young independent countries, the vast majority of which are members of the non-aligned movement, that it is possible to put up a barrier in the way of the hegemonistic ambitions of bellicose imperialist circles. That is why statements from Moscow always stress the beneficial role played by the non-aligned countries in the world arena and welcome the fact that this role is growing and becoming increasingly active.

The 27th CPSU Congress fully confirmed our country's unwavering solidarity with the forces of national and social liberation, and the U.S.S.R.'s policy of close interaction with the non-aligned movement.

■

THE NEXT MEETING—IN HARARE

Interview with MAURICE NYAGUMBO

The Eighth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries is to open on August 26 in Harare, the capital of Zimbabwe.

The Republic of Zimbabwe, with a population of about 8 million, replaced Southern Rhodesia which had been ruled for many years by British colonialists and later by Rhodesian white racists. It is the youngest, 50th independent African state. Located in the south of the continent, it has as one of its neighbours South Africa with its notorious apartheid regime.

The Zimbabweans' path to political independence, proclaimed on April 18, 1980, was long and arduous, requiring many sacrifices. But in the brief period since independence Zimbabwe has earned recognition and prestige in both Africa and the world at large. Why?

The chief reason for this is the resolute measures inside the country to overcome backwardness and promote democratic reforms and peaceful relations between races—its course at building a society based on democracy, equality and social justice. In the sphere of foreign affairs, its reputation is due to its policy of peace and mutually advantageous cooperation between states with different social systems and its support of the liberation struggle of the peoples of Namibia and South Africa.

The young republic won the right to host such an important international forum as the conference of heads of state or government of the non-aligned countries, and this is indisputable evidence of the high prestige it enjoys.

In connection with the forthcoming forum our correspondent Nikolai Reshetnyak interviewed MAURICE NYAGUMBO, a prominent figure in Zimbabwe. He is a member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee and administrative secretary of the country's ruling party—Zimbabwe African National Union—Patriotic Front (ZANU—PF). He headed this revolutionary-democratic party's delegation to the 27th CPSU Congress.

What is your view of the fact that the capital of your country has been chosen as the venue for the next non-aligned summit and that as a result Zimbabwe will head the movement for the next few years?

Of course this is a great honour for us and for our young republic. But by the same token this gives us a great responsibility to the international community.

I think that the choice of Harare as the venue for the coming conference reflects to a certain extent the current assessment of the role of African countries in the non-aligned movement. It is generally recognized that African non-alignment has certain specific features. They are determined, on the one hand, by the specificities of our national liberation struggle and, on the other, by the economic, social and political situation obtaining in the continent. From the outset the policy of non-alignment in Africa has not only been sharply anti-colonial but also anti-racist. It has always been linked with the struggle for African unity. Moreover, because of the extreme social and economic backwardness of most African countries it is also of a clearly expressed economic nature. You see, the restructuring of international economic relations on a just and equal basis is of vital importance for the African countries with their lop-sided single-crop economies inherited from colonial times.

The Organization of African Unity (OAU) was founded in 1963. The following year it adopted a special resolution called "African Non-Alignment." It is noteworthy that absolutely all OAU member countries are also members of the non-aligned movement. In fact, the independent countries of Africa, as well as the national liberation organization of Namibian patriots—SWAPO—now comprise half of all the movement's members.

What issues, in your view, will draw the particular attention of the participants in the Harare summit?

I believe that three groups of questions will attract most attention: problems concerned with strengthening peace and averting war, economic problems and problems connected with the struggle against apartheid in South Africa and in support of the liberation of Namibia.

So, the first group...

The problem of war and peace is a

question of life and death for mankind. Despite the frequency with which it resorts to the rhetoric of peace the United States continues to take an obstructionist stand on disarmament issues, is escalating the nuclear-missile arms race and is out to spread it to outer space. In these conditions the task of ensuring genuine security is of paramount importance for all, including, of course, the non-aligned movement.

The latest radical Soviet peace initiatives were received with approval here in Zimbabwe and, as far as I know, in the overwhelming majority, if not all, the non-aligned countries. These are bold and far-reaching initiatives. I refer to the comprehensive and extremely concrete plan for the stage-by-stage elimination of nuclear and all other types of weapons of mass annihilation in the course of the concluding 15 years

Maurice Nyagumbo (Zimbabwe) — administrative secretary, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Zimbabwe African National Union—Patriotic Front.

of the 20th century and the thoroughly elaborated concept of creating an all-embracing system of international security on earth.

It should be clear now to every reasonable person that the peoples of the world cannot live in constant fear, under the Damoclean sword of the nuclear threat, and that relations between states cannot be conducted in the spirit of neoglobalism that is being foisted on the world by the American Administration. I am convinced that this matter will be most forcefully raised at the forthcoming conference in Harare.

It appears that economic problems are closely associated with the peace issue...

You are absolutely right. Development is possible only in conditions of peace. Further advance, raising the living standards of our peoples who are still very, very poor, is simply inconceivable unless we can solve the pressing social and economic problems of the newly independent countries, the colonies and semi-colonies of yesterday.

The apartheid regime that reigns in South Africa is a regime of naked violence, oppression and ruthless exploitation of 25 million black Africans.

The Africans are continuing a courageous struggle against the racist regime, for their human dignity, and loudly demanding the release of ANC leader Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners.

EVERY NATION HAS THE RIGHT OF CHOICE

The modern world is a very motley collection of sovereign countries and peoples with their own interests, their own strivings, their own policies, traditions and dreams. Many of them have just embarked on the path of independent development. Their first steps were taken in the immensely difficult aftermath of colonialism and foreign dependence. On achieving political independence, they wish to attain economic independence as well. They see that they have resources and manpower, which can ensure them a better life, given an appropriate labour process. After all, we are speaking of vast continents. The desire of every people to exercise its sovereign right in the political, economic and social spheres is natural.

Some like this policy and some do not. It reflects the processes at work within a given country, the interests of this or that people endowed with the right to sovereignty. The right to choose a path of development, system, methods and forms, to choose one's friends. This is the right of every people. If this is not recognized, I simply do not know how international relations can be conducted.

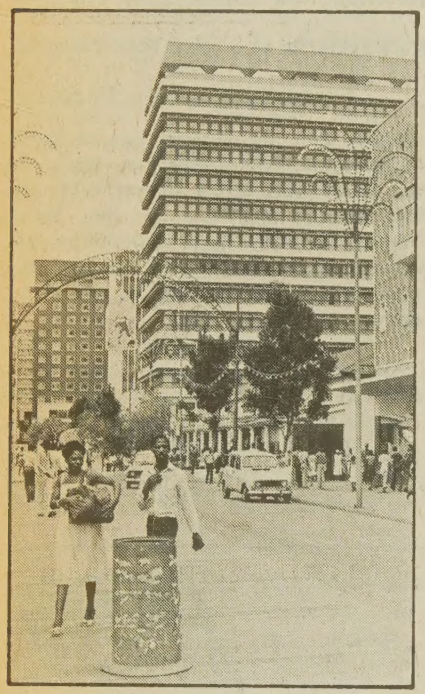
From MIKHAIL GORBACHEV's remarks at a press conference in Geneva on November 21, 1985.

The economic plight of the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America was characterized in the Political Report of the Central Committee to the 27th CPSU Congress. It should be recalled that more than 2 billion people live in these countries. So far poverty, backwardness, illiteracy, chronic malnutrition and disease are the lot of the overwhelming majority of them. Statistics show that the per capita income in these regions in the early 1980s was eleven times less than in the developed capitalist countries. Their foreign debts are soaring. The African countries alone already owe the fantastic sum of about $170 billion. We know that imperialism bears most of the responsibility for the difficult situation in the Third World. Its transnational corporations are making money hand over fist by exploiting our natural resources and manpower.

I have no doubt that the view will be expressed at the Harare conference that it is time for a drastic change in the present world economic order. The developing countries are pressing for equality and justice in economic activity, for mutually advantageous coopera-

tion and access to the achievements of science and culture.

We know and note with satisfaction that the Soviet Union, which is in no way to blame for the economic backwardness of the former colonies and semi-colonies, supports us in the struggle for a new international economic order and puts forward initiatives aimed at improving international economic relations. Nor can I fail to mention the Soviet Union's persistent efforts to put an end to the arms race and achieve disarmament. Alongside safeguarding international security, these efforts aim at making available huge resources for

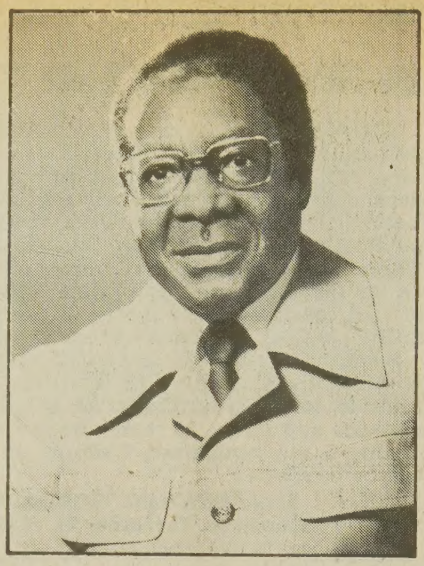


social and economic development and providing much greater assistance to economically backward countries than is being done at present.

The third group of problems, as you have said, concerns the struggle against racism in the south of Africa.... What, in your view, are the main tasks of Zimbabwe and other members of the non-aligned movement in the solution of southern Africa's problems?

It is only natural that the conference in Harare should discuss the stepping up of the struggle against racism and apartheid, ways to achieve a practical solution to the Namibia problem and normalization of the situation around Angola, as well as the creation in South Africa of a democratic state free of racial discrimination.

Zimbabwe's liberation has opened up considerable prospects for freedom fighters in Namibia and South Africa. We have set the example of a vigorous and resolute struggle against racism.



Robert Mugabe, Prime Minister of the Republic of Zimbabwe. Harare, the capital of that country, will host this year the next, eighth summit conference of non-aligned countries.

Some 27,000 of the best sons and daughters of our people gave their lives in the long and bloody war against the racist regime, and two million Zimbabweans were made homeless. But our sacrifices were not in vain. We gained independence, and the struggle of the South Africans against apartheid received a new impulse. This is vividly confirmed by the growing tide of popular anger in South Africa which continues to rise in spite of all the cunning tricks by the president of that country, Botha, who resorts to minor concessions intended to deceive the people. The prestige and influence of the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa and the South West Africa People's Organization of Namibia (SWAPO) are growing. We are giving every possible support to the ANC and SWAPO.

It is with determination and firmness in upholding their rights and interests that the "frontline" states are countering Pretoria's attempts to surround itself with a "constellation" of countries with "acceptable" regimes. As long ago as 1980 nine countries in southern Africa—Angola, Botswana, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland and Tanzania—formed the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC). Its prime objective is to lessen the degree of economic dependence on South Africa and promote regional cooperation. A regular meeting of heads of state of the SADCC countries was held in Harare early in 1986. It studied prospects for development and outlined measures to counter the designs of our southern neighbour.

We will further advocate the complete abolition of the system of apartheid in South Africa and the granting of independence to the people of Namibia in accordance with the U.N. Security Council's resolution 435, without this being made contingent in any way upon the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola.

By its policy of "constructive engagement" imperialism, in particular American imperialism, is shoring up the racist regime in Pretoria. It is giving every help to the armed bands in Angola to destabilize that sovereign country. This is inadmissible.

One more question in this connection: how do you assess the attitude of the United States and its Western allies to the non-aligned movement, which generaly holds anti-imperialist positions?

The United States is certainly displeased with this course adopted by the non-aligned movement. It is counting on some pro-Western leaders to split the movement from within. At the same time Washington is exerting pressure on the non-aligned countries in various ways to make them reassess their negative attitude to the U.S. Administration's conduct in the international arena. For instance, it denies financial assistance to them. Last but not least, the concept of neoglobalism preached by the White House today actually implies the use of military force and subversive operations against sovereign countries.

Support from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries gives us strength in upholding the ideals of non-alignment, peace and freedom.

As we prepare for the conference of the heads of state or government of the non-aligned nations we very much hope that it will serve the cause of peace and progress.

It must be quite a challenging job to organize and hold such a representative international forum, not to mention the purely technical aspect.

Indeed. The technical side of holding the conference is very demanding. We will have to play host to a large number of prominent Third World statesmen, along with numerous guests and journalists. They must be provided with good accommodation, services and transport. Then, we must equip premises for productive work by the conference itself and its various working bodies, and provide qualified personnel. All this is already being done in Harare.

But the main thing, I repeat, is for the highest forum of the non-aligned movement to make a real contribution to safeguarding peace and security on earth, and promote social and economic progress in the developing world. ■

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